



# THE KEYNOTER



## Images of American Radicalism

Frank Zeidler for President • Socialist Matchbooks

Theodore Roosevelt in Cartoons • Confederate Veterans Postcards

## *Editor's Message*

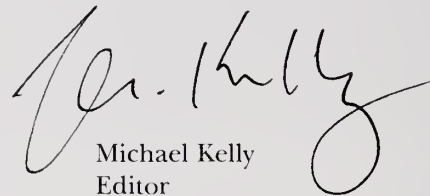
This issue stretches across the wings of American politics. Although the Left is being highlighted, there are a few touches of the far Right as well. From the primer on Marxism "for girls and boys" on the back cover by "Bad Bishop" Brown (complete with smiling portrait of Stalin) to the racist postcards of L.T. Dickinson and the United Confederate Veterans, we cover a lot of ground this issue.

The division between Left and Right is one of the permanent features of American politics, even though the line is continually shifting. One of the legacies of Ronald Reagan is that the center in American politics moved sharply to the right under his leadership. William Clinton is arguably the most centrist Democratic President since Grover Cleveland. That fact has not stopped some of his detractors from attacking him as a Socialist.

The difficulty that leftists and right-wingers have in understanding each other is that they perceive the world based on fundamentally different assumptions. On both sides there are those whose views are firmly based on genuine personal experience. Both sides have idealists and demagogues, martyrs and opportunists, saints and thugs. Both sides stand for important and fundamental things. Both are correct part of the time and both are wrong part of the time.

That is the key to our political process. Our divisions are organic. If all the leftists or right-wingers were eliminated, new groupings would immediately form and a new left or right wing would emerge.

During the turbulent year of 1968, I was a student at the University of Notre Dame. After a series of student protests, university President Fr. Theodore Hesburgh described the university community as "a tension modulated by love." After more than three decades, from the perspective of one who politically sits out in the middle of the road with the dead skunks and yellow lines, that still seems about right.



Michael Kelly  
Editor

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Printed in USA by  
Lebco Graphics

# THE APIC KEYNOTER

Published Triannually

Volume 98, Number 3

Winter 1998

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**Illustrations:** The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Paul Buhle, Stephen Cresswell, Robert Cutter, Catherine Dike, Peggy Dillard, Roger Fischer, Robert Fratkin, Tom French, John Gingerich, Stephen Hauser, Ronnie Lapinsky and Edmund Sullivan.

**Covers:** *Front:* Artwork from the 1936 Socialist Labor Party ticket. *Back:* A red and black propaganda book, written by the Rt. Rev. William Montgomery Brown (also known as "Bad Bishop" Brown).

## IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Abraham Lincoln will be the subject of several articles, including a review of and illustrations from Stuart Schneider's major new book *Collecting Lincoln*.





# Frank Zeidler For President: Heartland Socialist

By Stephen K. Hauser

On Labor Day of 1975 former mayor Frank Paul Zeidler became the first Milwaukeean to be nominated for the United States presidency by any political party. Zeidler's nomination came at the close of the three day national convention of the Socialist Party, USA, which was held at the Wisconsin Hotel at 720 North Third Street in the mayor's home city. The Socialists in 1975 claimed only about 500 national members and little, if any, structured organization from which to launch such an auspicious undertaking; thus the Zeidler nomination was primarily a quixotic tribute to the public career and personal ideals of the last of America's big city Socialist mayors. It was also an attempt by the party leadership to keep the Socialist ideal before the American public.

Frank P. Zeidler was born in Milwaukee on September 20, 1912. He attended the Milwaukee public school system and graduated from West Division High School in 1929. Zeidler's father was a barber, and young Frank found employment as everything from a farmhand to a surveyor. He joined the Socialist Party during the Great Depression of the 1930s and sharpened his political teeth on the writings and speeches of such party leaders as six-time presidential candidate Norman Thomas.

Zeidler first became acquainted with Norman Thomas about 1935. After he became secretary of the Socialist Party of Milwaukee County in 1937, Zeidler's contacts with Thomas increased. Later, during a Socialist Party convention in Washington, D.C., Zeidler met Anthony Kinch, a former machinist at the Falk Corporation in Milwaukee. Zeidler introduced Kinch to Thomas, who began to champion the laborer's cause. It seems the machinist had lost his job at Falk as a result of his public assertion that the company had attempted to defraud the federal government by charging work for private customers to government projects. Falk later repaid the government about \$500,000. However, Kinch claimed he had been promised a reward for his help, but had not received one.

Zeidler tried to help Kinch by publishing the entire story in leaflet form, while Thomas sent letters to others asking their help in exposing what he saw as a coverup. Kinch was finally paid about \$12,000 by the government for his help, but the entire episode was kept rather quiet and never settled to the satisfaction of either Zeidler or Thomas. It does, however, provide an early example of how young Frank worked actively for what he believed.

This was only one way in which to serve the cause of the Socialist Party in Wisconsin. Another method was to become a candidate for public office under its banner. This Zeidler did many times, with mixed success. He won election as Milwaukee County Surveyor on the Progressive Party ticket in 1938, but two years later in 1940, he was defeated for a seat on the county board in the spring elections. That

fall he won the Progressive Party nomination for state treasurer and went on to poll 382,237 votes in the November general election, running well ahead of the Democratic nominee but falling about 234,000 votes short of the total amassed by John M. Smith, his Republican opponent.

After the 1940 campaign the Socialists removed themselves from their coalition with the La Follette-led Progressive Party and again applied for a separate party column on the Wisconsin state ballot. The Socialists had joined in an uneasy alliance with the Progressives in 1936 through the auspices of Henry Rutz and his Wisconsin Farmer-Labor-Progressive Federation, but they soon felt that their support was being taken for granted by the mainstream of the party. When they reestablished the Socialist Party of Wisconsin as an electoral entity, Zeidler was with them.

Zeidler campaigned successfully for a seat on the Milwaukee public school board in 1941. However, he then faced a series of losses. As the first Socialist Party candidate for governor since 1934, he placed fourth in the 1942 election by drawing a mere 11,295 votes. Two years later he made a last moment bid to become mayor of Milwaukee and lost badly. In 1946 Zeidler was defeated in a race for the U.S. House of Representatives from the Fifth District, but was reelected to the school board in the spring of 1947.

The record of his campaigns for public office up to this point was not overly impressive, but in 1948 Zeidler's political fortunes greatly improved when he was elected as Milwaukee's third Socialist mayor. The Milwaukee newspapers and most of the city's leading citizens supported liberal attorney Henry S. Reuss, but Zeidler defeated him with 56 percent of the vote. It was an upset victory and many in



This is the first button printed by the Zeidler-Brisben campaign and was issued in late 1975. It carries the new symbol of the Socialist Party encompassing the Civil Rights and Peace movements. It is lithographed, unusual for a modern button of this size.



On the left is a rare button issued to celebrate the election of Victor Berger of Milwaukee as the first Socialist Party member of Congress. On the right is another rare celluloid from Carl Zeidler (Frank's older brother). Carl was elected mayor of Milwaukee in 1940 but resigned to join the U.S. Navy when war broke out. He was lost at sea shortly thereafter.

Milwaukee were stunned by it. The local press, which had issued a stream of dire predictions about what would be likely to happen if Zeidler were elected, was forced to adopt a "wait and see" attitude about the new city administration.

It was charged at this time that Frank was helped in his victory by the fact that he was the younger brother of the late mayor Carl Zeidler, a popular and dashing local figure who had been presumed lost at sea during World War II. While it was true that Carl had been something of a local hero, Frank was first elected to public office in 1938, two years before his older brother. Carl's positive level of posthumous name recognition among Milwaukee voters may have been a factor in Frank's 1948 victory, but there remains little doubt that the quiet and scholarly Socialist had an image and a constituency all his own.

Zeidler remained in office for the next twelve years, withstanding numerous controversies over his progressive policies. He was returned to office in 1952 in a landslide victory which gave him 72 percent of the vote, and he was elected to a third term in 1956 with 55 percent. In 1960, claiming he was tired, he chose not to seek another term.

The years of the Zeidler administration were marked by change and growth for the City of Milwaukee and its people. The actual land mass of the city was increased with the annexation of large portions of the Town of Lake and Granville and smaller portions of other neighboring towns. The local freeway system was planned and begun, and backing was given to a new public television station and a new museum building for the downtown area. The mayor's support for construction of scattered site housing developments provoked the greatest controversy of his years in office, along with his related policy of greater rights for racial minorities. Zeidler made numerous speeches defending the rights of blacks to live and work wherever they desired in the city. He finally was accused by some of attempting to bring blacks into Milwaukee by advertising for them with pamphlets and billboards in the deep South. This assertion appears to have had absolutely no basis in fact, but it has haunted Zeidler ever since. During his presidential campaign twenty years later, the Socialist Workers' Party, a far left Trotskyite splinter group, condemned him as a racist because of that supposed attempt to recruit minority group members for low-paying manual labor jobs. This falsehood was quite upsetting to the man who placed racial understanding and tolerance high on his list of personal concerns in both public and private life.<sup>1</sup>

As mayor, Zeidler also began new programs of slum clearance and on-site inspection of public buildings for

safety hazards. Throughout his time in the mayor's chair, the City of Milwaukee maintained its reputation as a well governed and relatively crime free city. By the time he left office, the Socialist Party of Milwaukee, his electoral base, had shrunk to almost no members and a nonexistent level of influence. Zeidler's continuation in office in spite of this may have been due in part to the open government that he provided. Historian Larry Gara later noted, "The Socialists provided a citywide example of progressive government. Many professional people, businessmen and others in the city's middle class continued to support a Socialist mayor because he helped give Milwaukee a reputation as the best governed city in the United States."<sup>2</sup>

After leaving office Zeidler taught college level courses on various topics, worked as a labor arbitrator and as a consultant on public administration and did extensive writing, including an as yet unpublished autobiography. In 1963, Governor John Reynolds named him as director of the state's Department of Resource Development. The former mayor also continued to serve as secretary of his own Milwaukee Public Enterprise Committee, a citizens' group he had long been involved with and which he used as his civic and political arm while mayor.

The electoral strength of the Socialist Party itself had declined drastically since the end of the 1940s. Norman Thomas's last run for the United States presidency was in 1948. The party attempted to remain active by nominating Darlington Hoopes, a Quaker pacifist and former state legislator from Pennsylvania, for president in 1952 and 1956, but he polled only a few thousand scattered votes each time.

In 1960, the Socialists decided against fielding any presidential ticket and ideological disparities fragmented the party. A few years later party theorist Michael Harrington, the author of *The Other America*, *Socialism* and other monumental works of American reformist political theory, reorganized some of the party's political activists into the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and adopted the tactic of "boring from within" the Democratic Party. The members of DSOC endorsed Democrats Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968 and George S. McGovern in 1972. Such presidential politics was deplored by Zeidler and others who felt the need for an independent Socialist Party with a separate identity and, when necessary, a separate ballot column.

The tiny Zeidler-led Socialist Party, USA remained active, but low-key throughout the early 1970's, but by 1974 it was clear that they both wanted and needed the visibility



Three green and white tabs from Frank Zeidler's first successful race for mayor of Milwaukee in 1948. All are from 1948 and the third was reused in 1952.



that a national presidential ticket would afford them. The little group had only one candidate of sufficient stature and background to lead such a ticket: Frank O. Zeidler.

This story is thus brought to the 1976 presidential campaign and the muggy Labor Day weekend convention of the Socialists in Milwaukee. The first order of business for the small gathering was to adopt a platform. A surprisingly brief one was drawn up, with planks supporting cooperative farming, abolition of agri-corporations, protection of the free press, public ownership of the telephone companies, and publicly run radio and television outlets.

The party platform further stressed the right of children to an education and the right of public employees to strike. Unconditional amnesty for all war resisters, massive public housing programs of the type urged by Zeidler while he was mayor, peaceful coexistence in foreign affairs, mass transportation for the cities, preservation of the environment, and "workers' control of industry"—long a party favorite—were also advocated. Much of the platform could not be called truly radical and yet there was a definite air of Eric Hoffer's "True Believer" in it.<sup>3</sup>

The platform having been adopted, the next order of business was the selection of the presidential and vice presidential nominees. This was not as easy a choice as it might sound. Although it seemed perfectly obvious to the handful of delegates assembled at the Wisconsin Hotel that Zeidler should be their nominee, the former mayor himself was not at all anxious to run. He turned down their nomination at first, but finally accepted it only because no one else wanted it. Even then, he announced he would run only a "front porch campaign" and allow his running mate to make most of the speeches, "since I am no longer all that vigorous."<sup>4</sup>



Norman Thomas (right) sought the United States presidency six times as a Socialist candidate. He is seated here with James Maurer (center), his running mate in 1928 and 1932, and Milwaukee's Socialist mayor, Daniel W. Hoan.

Zeidler's running mate was J. Quinn Brisben, a forty-one year old Chicago high school history teacher who had been defeated for mayor of Chicago as a write-in candidate that same year. Brisben, a native of Oklahoma, wore a bushy black beard, wire-rimmed glasses and a string tie. He spoke simply and with delightful style and humor about the need for Socialism in America. "Everybody was telling me I was a Socialist," Brisben once reported. "So I studied about it and, by gosh, I was one! A lot of people are, they just don't know it." With this kind of rhetoric, he provided quite a contrast to the shy and studious sixty-three year old Zeidler in his blue business suit and suspenders. In terms of style, this was a truly balanced ticket.<sup>5</sup>

After the close of the convention, the two most important tasks that Zeidler and his party faced were to get on the ballot in as many states as possible and to run a respectable and inventive campaign on a sadly limited budget. Some interested people who wrote to the party early in the campaign for literature or information received only copies of newspaper articles on the Zeidler campaign.<sup>6</sup>

The campaign of the Socialist Party, USA for 1976 sought to use two national publications to reach friends and supporters. One was the *Socialist Tribune*, the longtime party newspaper, which was revived in Milwaukee with the February, 1976 issue. The paper was four pages in length and devoted much of its space to the speaking tours of



When Frank Zeidler was first elected mayor, one of the several candidates he defeated was former Socialist Mayor Daniel Webster Hoan, who had been mayor between 1916 and 1940. Above: The celluloid on the left is from Hoan's 1948 attempt. The celluloid on the right is from 1956. Below: a large paper bumper sticker (pictured reduced).



Paid for by Zeidler - Brisben Campaign Committee, Err. Koth, Treas.

Zeidler and Brisben and to excerpts from the party platform. "Williamsburg Applauds Zeidler," "Socialists Nominate Zeidler and Brisben," "Minnesota Organizes," "Zeidler Says Support the ERA," and "Possibility of Socialist-People's Parties' Ticket," headlines from the *Tribune's* first issue, were typical of the paper's general tone. Further issues heralded everything from Zeidler's support of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) in Sweden to the oft-repeated party slogans "Vote Your Hopes and Not Your Fears!" and "Help Turn Things Around!" Zeidler-Brisben "collectors" campaign buttons were also sold through the *Tribune* at one dollar apiece, along with bumper stickers and other campaign items.<sup>7</sup>

The other major party campaign publication was the official 1976 Zeidler-Brisben newsletter, *The People Factor*. It was published by Robert E. Schlichter of Florida and aimed itself at the independent liberal or progressive voter who might be inclined to support the Zeidler candidacy as a form of protest against the Democratic and Republican party nominees. One issue proudly announced that Philip Berrigan, one of the famed anti-war Berrigan brothers of the 1960s, had endorsed Zeidler. Berrigan thus joined such varied supporters as ex-presidential candidate Darlington Hoopes and Ervin A. Koth, past president of the Commonwealth Mutual Savings Bank in Milwaukee. In addition to listing endorsements, *The People Factor* also reported on the more technical aspects of the campaign and kept supporters informed as to ballot status in individual states and local campaigns of party members around the country.

On a local level, the *Wisconsin Socialist Alternative* and the *New Milwaukee Leader* informed readers of local meetings and events of interest. In other states, newsletters such as the *California Socialist* or the *District of Columbia Colony Newsletter* kept members and friends aware of activities in their respective areas of the nation. The real problem, however, was not how to retain the already converted Zeidler backers, but rather how to reach those who were not yet aware of the Socialist campaign effort. Here the party had to rely solely upon the mainstream American media.<sup>8</sup>

Nearly all campaign publicity was centered in Milwaukee and Wisconsin. A couple of city council members in Madison endorsed Zeidler's candidacy, and the state Socialist Party created some further publicity by running several of its members for local offices, such as school board or county supervisor, around the state. In order to provide Zeidler with a statewide ticket, longtime friend and party activist William Osborne Hart of Prairie du Sac announced that he would run for the United States Senate seat and try to "transplant" the popular incumbent Democrat William Proxmire back to Wisconsin soil. In Milwaukee, meanwhile, Socialist Party member Wayne L. Hakes announced his candidacy for an east side assembly seat currently held by a Democrat. It was becoming clear that the Socialists hoped to use the Zeidler campaign as a means to strengthen the party at every electoral level.<sup>9</sup>

The day after Zeidler's nomination, September 2, 1975, both the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Milwaukee Sentinel* carried extensive articles on the Socialist convention and its



*Milwaukee Journal Photo*

During the 1976 presidential race, Frank Zeidler could often be found working at the Socialist Party's headquarters, planning his "front porch" campaign as well as helping with the many daily office tasks.







Above: two unusual buttons. The celluloid on the left was ordered by the Socialist Party for the 1976 campaign but not received from the printer until after the election. The button on the right was produced by Wisconsin collector Ralph Callies. When Callies sent a box of them to the Zeidler campaign, the candidate refused to use them because they lacked a union bug. Below: a campaign card showing Zeidler and running mate Quinn Brisben. Brisben would be the Socialist Party's presidential nominee in 1992.

**VOTE FOR**

**FRANK P.**  
**ZEIDLER**  
For  
**PRESIDENT**



**J. QUINN**  
**BRISBEN**  
For  
**VICE-PRESIDENT**



**VOTE YOUR HOPES  
AND  
NOT YOUR FEARS**

If these candidates are not on the ballot in your state, help put them on or write in their name.

Authorized and paid for by the Zeidler-Brisben Campaign Committee, P.O. Box 1662, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201

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outcome. Several days later the *Sentinel* added an editorial, stating in part, "If in some small measure Zeidler's campaign can provide vent for the frustration and sense of futility that some Americans feel toward the major parties, it will be well worth the undertaking."<sup>10</sup>

The *Journal* alluded to the former mayor's honorary doctorate from the University of Wisconsin and added that he had been unanimously chosen by Milwaukee public librarians as their most frequent customer. The paper noted with pride that "If it can be said of Milwaukee that one who was first at City Hall is also first at the library, that might be a high compliment for a city, indeed."<sup>11</sup>

Other rather positive articles were written in the Milwaukee area including a full page feature on Zeidler in the normally conservative suburban *Post* newspapers. The socialists found this article so glowing that they purchased extra copies of the paper to help distribute it. Before the campaign was over, the *Sentinel* had covered the ex-mayor in a variety of pictures and stories and had contributed a second editorial entitled "Don't Discount Value of Minor Parties." The *Journal* devoted nearly an entire issue of "Insight," its Sunday magazine supplement, to a sympathetic report on the Zeidler campaign under the heading "Stumping with Zeidler," and the *Bugle-American*, Milwaukee's dying underground newspaper, praised Zeidler in an article a week before the general election. As a whole, the Milwaukee area media was uniformly responsive and open to the Socialist campaign, perhaps enjoying the idea of a local candidate for the nation's highest office.<sup>12</sup>

National publicity was sparse indeed. The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) afforded Zeidler a half hour of uninterrupted air time in an interview format and the *New York Times* allowed him a column to state, along with several other minor party nominees, what he believed were the most important issues of the campaign.

One bright spot of national exposure was a brief article that *Harper's Weekly* asked Zeidler to write about the issues of the 1976 campaign from a minor party perspective. This gave him an extensive opportunity to comment on city related problems from mass transit to urban sprawl. "I suspect I know more about urban problems than any other candidates," Zeidler wrote. He used this article before a national audience to advocate localized police forces (as opposed to centralized metropolitan ones), mass transit for all cities, an end to the present revenue sharing system and a plan for a future of efficient metropolitan governments around the country.<sup>13</sup>

The *Progressive* magazine of November 1976 also gave the Zeidler-Brisben ticket some coverage, noting wryly that party funds were so low that Brisben had made one east coast campaign swing "on a \$150 Amtrak pass." These articles were about the extent of the party's national publicity, however, and the thirty seconds of film that Zeidler received on the ABC nightly news on election eve did little to enhance the candidate's visibility.<sup>14</sup>

In a speech to the Milwaukee chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, the Society of Professional Journalists, Zeidler blasted the lack of coverage given to his views and to those of other third party nominees. "We are unable to get TV time," he stressed, "and television shapes elections." He stated further that when he had questioned the League of Women



Voters about their refusal to include minor candidates in the series of debates they had sponsored between President Gerald Ford and his Democratic challenger Jimmy Carter, the League replied only that it would be happy to mention his name in its newsletter.<sup>15</sup>

One major blow to the Zeidler campaign, as well as a source of unwelcome local publicity, was the destruction early in the winter of 1975 of the building housing the Socialist Party national headquarters. For several years the Socialists had made their party home in the historic but dilapidated Metropolitan Block building on North Third Street in Milwaukee. On Saturday, December 20, 1975 that building, in the midst of an extensive renovation effort, was destroyed by fire. Most party records were destroyed, along with an early supply of Zeidler-Brisben buttons and a number of letters and leaflets that would no doubt have been considered valuable by many political historians. For a time the Socialists ran an unofficial headquarters out of Zeidler's home on North Second Street. The former mayor made regular trips to the Metropolitan Block ruins in vain attempts to retrieve charred records. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* at one point carried a picture of Zeidler picking through the rubble and noted that he had yet to find anything there.<sup>16</sup>

Soon the party had established a new headquarters on the southeast corner of Third and Kilbourn in the Charlton Building, long a home for small labor organizations. Party supporters hung a large yellow "Zeidler for President" poster from the window of their second story office overlooking Kilbourn Avenue. It immediately became just about the only publicly displayed Zeidler banner in the country.

Zeidler spent much time in the new headquarters, typing letters and press releases, folding his own literature for mailings, reading newspapers and talking with supporters who might drop by to help. It was here in this large barn-like office that he planned strategy for his "front porch campaign." He even once considered holding a rally on his own front porch, but nothing ever came of the idea.<sup>17</sup>

Money was always a factor, although the Socialist treasury was spent wisely during the campaign. The party

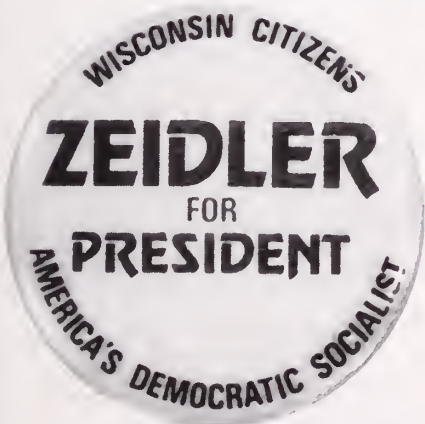
ended up in the black by a small amount, even owning the deed to a couple of cemetery plots that a local ex-television personality had contributed to the cause in lieu of cash. Enough money was saved to place a large advertisement in the *Milwaukee Journal* the Sunday before election day urging area residents to back the Zeidler-Brisben ticket. Wisconsin was especially important to the party's future because if it could achieve one percent of the vote, it would assure itself of ballot position in future electoral contests.

The party initially had hopes of gaining a ballot position in numerous states and perhaps even uniting with the small People's Party in a common front of the so-called "democratic left." Zeidler and company found these hopes dashed when the People's Party nominee, black activist Margaret Wright, refused to withdraw her previously announced candidacy. Zeidler opposed her in the Peace and Freedom Party presidential primary in California in June, but lost to Ms. Wright, 4,344 to 1,438.

Other setbacks came when the Michigan Human Rights Party endorsed Wright over Zeidler at its state convention that summer and when the Socialist ticket failed to obtain a ballot position in either New York or Virginia, two states the organization had counted on. In Virginia, over 8,000 signatures were secured on ballot petitions, but not enough qualified presidential electors could be found.

In the end, the Socialist slate qualified for the ballot in seven states and their write-in votes were counted in six more. The state-by-state breakdown of Zeidler's vote was rather meager and it must have left many party workers wondering if it had all really been worth it. The final official tally is as follows:

Connecticut	5
Florida	8
Georgia	2
Idaho	2
Illinois	17
Iowa	234
Maryland	16
Minnesota	354
New Jersey	469



Above: this celluloid button from Wisconsin was designed and issued by longtime Zeidler friend William Hart, who ran on Zeidler's ticket for the U.S. Senate seat from Wisconsin. Right: hand card.

**VOTE FOR**

Frank P.

**ZEIDLER**

for

**PRESIDENT**

J. Quinn

**BRISBEN**

for

**VICE-PRESIDENT**

**AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS**

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Authorized and paid for by the Zeidler-Brisben Campaign Committee for the Socialist Party, U.S.A., William Osborne Hart, Chairman; E. A. Koth, Treasurer, P.O. Box 1662, Milwaukee, WI 53201.

New Mexico	240
New York	14
North Dakota	38
Oregon	5
Texas	2
Washington	358
Wisconsin	<u>4,298</u>
TOTAL:	6,062

If Zeidler was disappointed, he took it well. He explained to a *Milwaukee Sentinel* reporter, who visited him at his "victory party" at Turners Hall, that the 1976 Socialist Party campaign was a victory of sorts. "No place did I encounter hostility or attacks on my character. I don't think either of the major candidates can make the same claim," he said. He later added that it should not be necessary for him to seek the presidency again, but worded his retirement from the political ring in such a way as to make it less than *Shermanesque*.<sup>19</sup>

"I will be sixty-eight in four more years....I would hope the party would have developed new and younger leadership by then, but if I'm in good health and there is a compelling reason for me to run, I might try again."<sup>20</sup>

Since 1976, however, Zeidler has made it increasingly clear that that campaign was his last electoral effort. Citing declining health and the need for new blood in the party, he removed himself from the 1980 Socialist Party pre-convention sweepstakes. He still firmly believes that the party must of necessity run a presidential ticket again, even if only to maintain some visibility.

The former mayor harbors no regrets about 1976 and reflected in a recent speech, "I was the only candidate that advocated price controls and allocation of energy resources in 1976. I recognized that we simply could not ship out forty-five billion a year to the OPEC countries and only get back twenty billion, so going into debt twenty-five billion a year." Zeidler feels that by his candidacy he was able to offer voters a choice.<sup>21</sup>

The statistical outcome of his efforts may have been poor, but statistics are not the only measure of success. The Zeidler campaign succeeded in offering a choice to the American voters, and whether or not they accepted that choice was solely up to them. Zeidler's nomination, like the Eugene Debs Award he was given in Terre Haute, Indiana, only a year later, was a tribute to the work of a man more committed to principle and ideology than to politics and elections. His candidacy was a needed reminder that although it may no longer be possible for anyone in America to grow up to be president, it is still possible for any one to try.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Alderman Roney L. Sorensen, City of Madison, "Open Letter to the *Militant*," December 30, 1975, reprinted and distributed by the Socialist Party, USA, section Milwaukee.

<sup>2</sup> Larry Gara, *A Short History of Wisconsin* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1962), pp. 224-5.

<sup>3</sup> Platform of the Socialist Party, USA for 1976, adopted September 1, 1975 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

<sup>4</sup> *The Milwaukee Journal*, September 2, 1975.

<sup>5</sup> *The Socialist Tribune*, May, 1976.

<sup>6</sup> Personal conversation with Dennis M. Satola, member of Wisconsin chapter of American Political Item Collector's Club (APIC), November 2, 1979.

<sup>7</sup> *The Socialist Tribune*, February, 1976.

<sup>8</sup> *The People Factor*, September, 1976.

<sup>9</sup> *The Socialist Tribune*, May, 1976.

<sup>10</sup> *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 4, 1975.



Above: this SP jugate button exists in two versions. The first run has an AFL-CIO union bug on the curl and the second bears a Trades Union bug. Below: flier from a mayoral campaign.

**To Our Friends and Neighbors**

**Continue Honest Government in Milwaukee**

**Re-Elect**

**MAYOR, FRANK P. ZEIDLER**



**A Good Mayor For All Milwaukee**

**A Good Mayor For Your Ward**

**Be Sure to VOTE April 3rd**

Authorized and paid for by Zeidler for Mayor Committee, Irma M. Schupp, Secretary, Suite 6, 740 N. 2nd St., Milwaukee.

<sup>11</sup> *The Milwaukee Journal*, "Insight" section, April 13, 1975.

<sup>12</sup> *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 3, 1976.

<sup>13</sup> "Look Who's Running for President," *Harper's Weekly* (March 22, 1976), p.3.

<sup>14</sup> "The Socialist Party, USA," *The Progressive* (November, 1976).

<sup>15</sup> *The Milwaukee Journal*, October 18, 1976.

<sup>16</sup> *The Milwaukee Journal*, December 21, 1975.

<sup>17</sup> "Stumping With Zeidler," *The Milwaukee Journal*, "Insight" section, October 24, 1976.

<sup>18</sup> *CQ Guide to American Presidential Elections, 1789-1976* (Washington, D.C., Congressional Quarterly, 1977), p.111.

<sup>19</sup> "There's No Defeat in Zeider Loss," *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 3, 1976.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Frank P. Zeidler, speech to the Progressive Party of Wisconsin, Waukesha, Wisconsin, April 25, 1979.



# Three Socialist Party Matchbooks

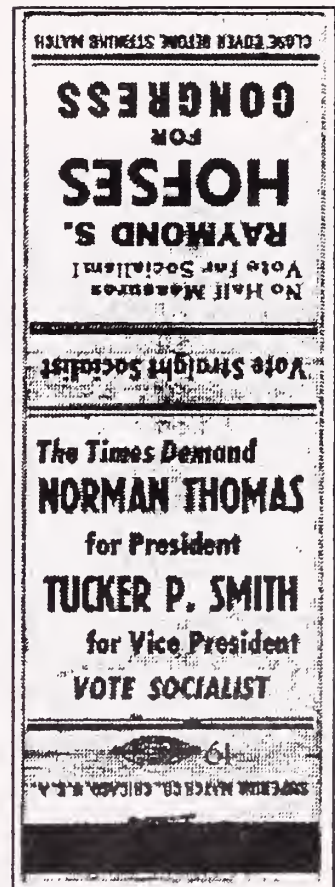
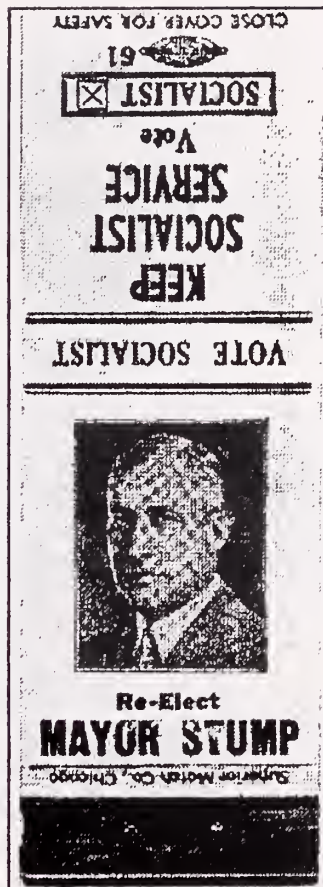
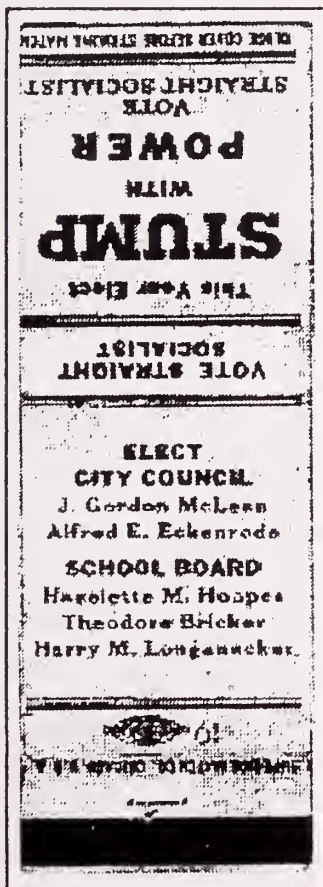
By Stephen Cresswell

Imagine my surprise when, at a collectibles auction, I found for sale three matchcovers supporting the Socialist Party's candidates from Reading, PA. Imagine my further surprise when I discovered that these candidates actually won their races for mayor and other local offices. As someone who grew up during the Cold War, it was surprising for me to learn that as recently as 1947, Socialists were governing an all-American city like Reading. I bid on the three covers and won, and these were the first ones in my collection.

As a history teacher, I knew that before World War I the U.S. Socialist Party had strong ties among labor groups, and I discovered that Reading area voters elected a Socialist state legislator as early as 1910. This was James H. Maurer, who was president of the state AFL. Yet after World War I, the Socialist Party was widely seen as un-American and unpatriotic, and for this reason it is hard to believe the voters of Reading would vote in the Socialists.

Most historians say the Reading Socialist victories of the 1920's 30s, and 40s were part of a citizens backlash against the two major parties, widely seen as corrupt at the local level. To get rid of this "court house clique," the voters voted in new faces...the Socialists. Then, when the Socialists did a demonstratively good job of governing the city structure, the Socialists were sometimes re-elected, though not always.

Socialist mayors were elected in many other cities, too, most notably in Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Bridgeport, Connecticut. But few Socialist groups managed to reelect their mayors as many times as the Reading Socialists. The Socialists kept the city books in the black, even while bringing in new parks and an airport. The story of the Socialists in Reading is an interesting chapter of politics in the Keystone state.★



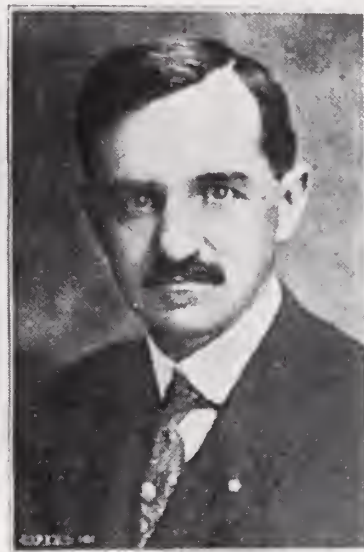
## Three Socialist Mayors



JASPER McLEVY  
Mayor of Bridgeport



J. HENRY STUMP  
Mayor of Reading



DANIEL W. HOAN  
Mayor of Milwaukee

Despite calls for major restructuring of society, when Socialists won power in local office they were unable to recast society at large. Instead they turned out to produce some of the most efficient and honest local administrations their cities had ever experienced. That is one reason that voters kept several Socialist mayors in office for long stretches of time.

**Stump Says:** **FOR MAYOR**

**WIN**  
WITH THE  
**SOCIALISTS**

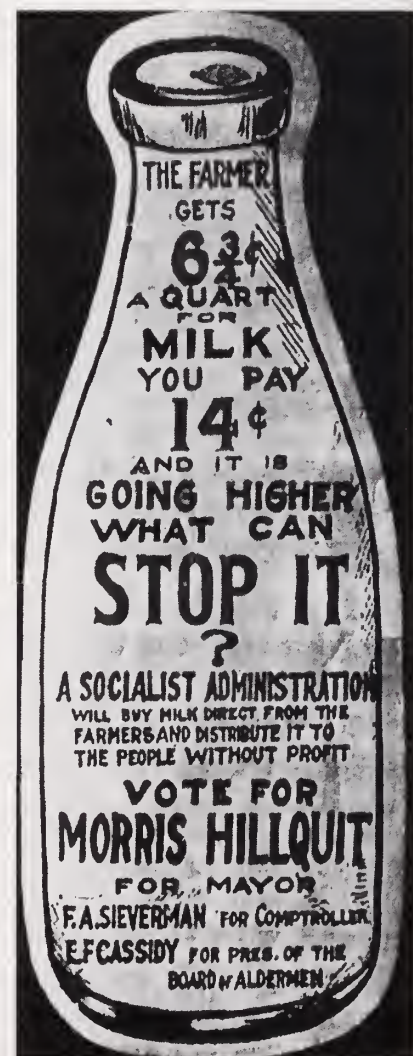
**J. Henry Stump**  
For Decency... Common Sense  
And Service

**TO VOTE SOCIALIST**  
PULL THIS LEVER ON  
THE VOTING MACHINE

DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLICAN  
SOCIALIST

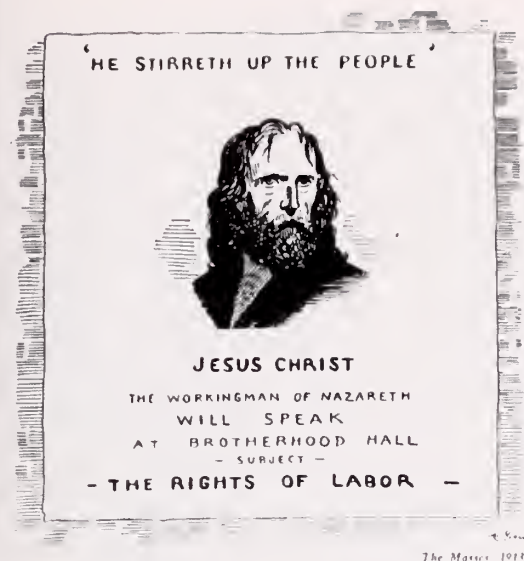
**SCHOOL BOARD CANDIDATES**

**VOTE STRAIGHT SOCIALIST**



A marvelous example of political campaign imagery. Running on an antiwar platform, Hillquit got more than 20% of the vote in the 1918 New York mayoralty election.





## Images of American Radicalism: Two Centuries of Hell Raising

Book review by Michael Kelly

*Images of American Radicalism* by Paul Buhle and Edmund B. Sullivan. Published by the Christopher Publishing House, 24 Rockland Street, Hanover MA 02339. Hardcover \$60.00 (plus \$6.00 shipping and handling if ordered from the publisher)

A major new work of interest to our hobby has arrived: *Images of American Radicalism* by Paul Buhle and Edmund B. Sullivan. Although only published recently, the first printing has already sold out and a second printing is underway.

Professor Edmund Sullivan needs no introduction to the readers of *The Keynoter*. Long a key figure in Political Americana, Sullivan was the founding director and curator of the Museum of American Political Life at the University of Hartford. His numerous books such as *Collecting Political Americana*, *American Political Badges and Medalets* and *American Political Ribbons and Ribbon Badges 1825-1981* (the latter with Dr. Roger Fischer) have placed him in the front rank of the field's serious scholars. What may be less known about Professor Sullivan is that his interest in political activism was stimulated by his experience as a young sailor participating in the U.S. Navy's atomic bomb experiments on the Bikini Atoll in 1946. Professor Paul Buhle is author, editor or co-editor of more than a dozen volumes on American Radicalism, including the *Encyclopedia of the American Left*. He is Director of the Oral History of the American Left project at New York University and currently a Visiting Scholar at Brown University.

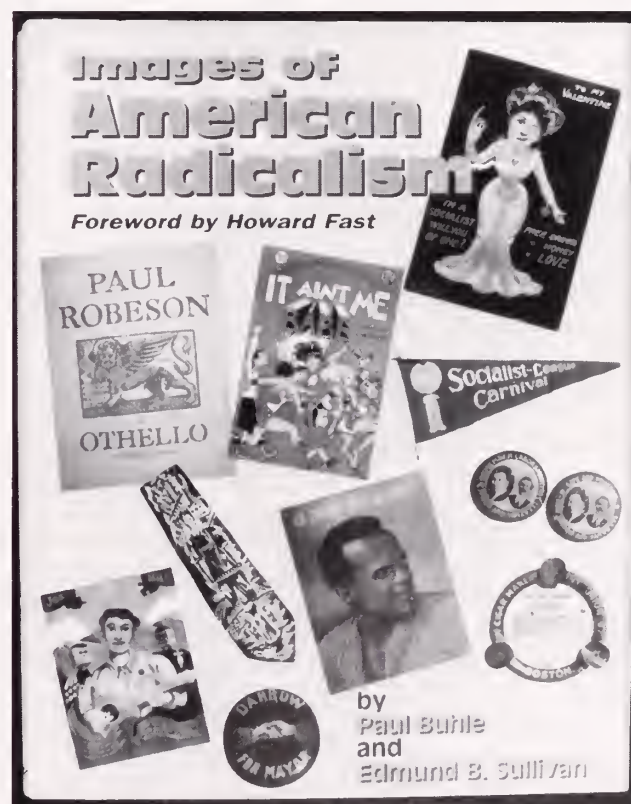
Together Buhle and Sullivan have created a masterful survey of the history and development of American left-wing movements with perhaps the finest gatherings of cause illustrations available in print. This 552-page work will be of interest to both historians and collectors, both those interested in cause material and party campaign material.

*Images of American Radicalism* contains more than 800 illustrations, including 100 color plates. Although the book deals extensively with political activism beyond the confines of straight election campaigns, there is a wealth of material from left wing parties, especially from the heyday of leftist parties. The authors divide the history of American radicalism into five broad eras; Green Dreamers, Class and Culture, the Golden Age of Radicalism, the Old Left and the contemporary era after the second world war.

"Green Dreamers" refers to the early days of American radicalism. From those experiments in collective living that pre-dated the American Revolution, through the ferment of that revolution to the social movements of the late

18th century like abolition, spiritualism and utopianism, Buhle and Sullivan describe and illustrate the waves of reform and new thought that periodically swept through the young nation. One of the first pieces of American political propaganda, a 1775 print of the Boston Massacre by Paul Revere is described as an example of new technology merging with new ideas: "From a technical standpoint, Revere's memorable print was made possible by the efforts of the skilled engraver preparing wooden blocks. This propaganda was among the earliest of the mass-produced radical agitation styles that we can record in America."

The first political campaign pieces to appear are from 1872 boosting the presidential candidacy of Victoria Woodhull (although an earlier Henry Clay ribbon does appear later in the book as a sample of labor-related



material). From then on specifically political material becomes more common.

In the section on "Class and Culture" we see the rising self-awareness of the working class. More and more labor parties appear, entwined with the emergence of unions and key historical strikes. Publications such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Puck* and *Judge* provide wonderful illustrations from much of this era, as do a rich selection of posters, broadsides and early radical newspapers.

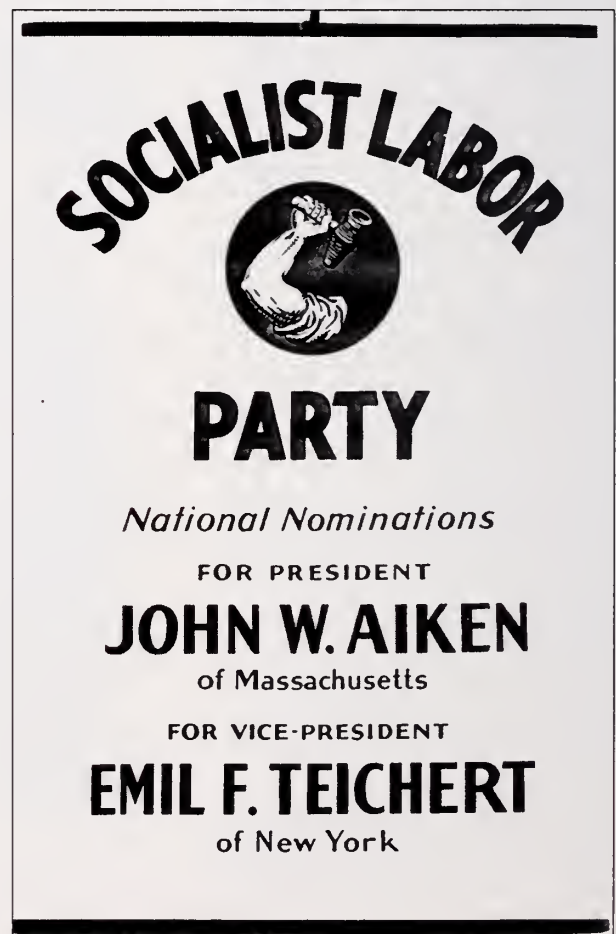
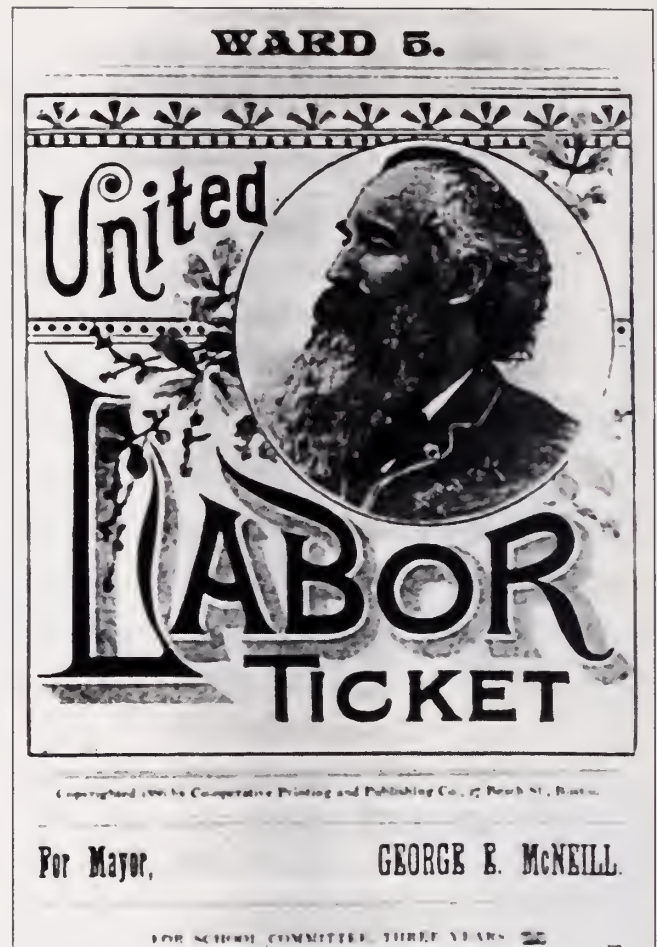
This section also contains some really remarkable material from the immigrants who were then pouring into the nation from Europe. In the late 1800's, immigration was mainly Irish and the Irish played a major in American politics (with mixed results). As the new century dawned, the fliers and books began to be printed in Hebrew, Italian, Slovenian and other languages. Buhle and Sullivan have gathered some very interesting examples of such material.

Next comes "The Golden Age of Radicalism." This is an era of Eugene Debs and a strong Socialist Party with elected officials from city hall to Congress, but there is more at play than ballot boxes. The battles were cultural as well as political and all through this book the authors cite a variety of cultural figures like Helen Keller, H.P. Lovecraft, Woody Guthrie or Jack London that were active in the socialist movement. There are numerous examples of art, poetry and literature advancing the cause. Socialist dances, workmen's gymnasiums, communist summer camps and countless other institutions provided people with places to exchange ideas and organize political action.

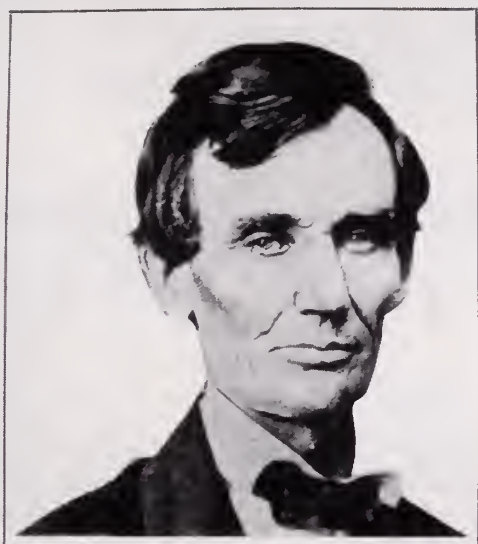
Many *Keynoter* readers will be most interested in items from political campaigns. Don't worry, *Images of American Radicalism* is filled with unusual campaign items, including lots of local items. Buttons alone include handsome pieces from Stitt Wilson's 1902 race for governor of California, Clarence Darrow's run for mayor of Chicago that same year, a delegate button from the 1936 Farmer-Labor Party convention, an Adam Clayton Powell-Henry Wallace coattail button, a Vito Marcantonio for mayor of New York and – of course – lots of beautiful Debs buttons.

However it is cause collectors who will find *Images of American Radicalism* a real treasure trove. Again taking buttons as an example, you'll find buttons from Sacco and Vanzetti; the Scottsboro boys; Ettor and Giovannitti, the 1936 National Negro Congress; Tresca, Scarlett and Schmidt; and others. But more than buttons, *Images of American Radicalism* uses paper material. Posters, fliers, book covers, banners, photographs, magazines and other printed material. Much of this is marked by brilliant graphics. All of it carrying an earnest commitment to the cause, whatever the specific cause may be.

The section on "The Old Left" focuses on the Thirties, Forties and Fifties when the traditional socialists seemed to be shoved aside by the more radical, harder-edged communists. Perhaps it was the trauma of the Great Depression that allowed the communists to grab center stage: certainly the rise of fascism and the outbreak of World War 2 were powerful forces in the changing face of American radicalism. The reverberations of the Russian Revolution still shook the world and numerous intellectuals looked at the Soviet Union in somewhat idealistic terms. Nonetheless, social issues such as racial segregation







## LINCOLN and the COMMUNISTS

By Earl Browder

2c

### LITTLE BOY BLUE



**L**ITTLE Boy Blue,  
come blow your  
horn;

It's the chance of your life,  
as sure as you're  
born;

You can vote to be caught  
in the spider's webs,

Or vote to be free with  
Seidel and Debs.

tarnished the United States and called for strong action.

After a period of semi-respectability during our wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, the explosion of postwar anticommunist feelings eliminated the hard left as a serious electoral force. Henry Wallace's 1948 Progressive Party was the last gasp of a broadly based leftwing party. Images of political parties and campaigns all but disappear in the later chapters. After 1948, the American Left ceased to focus its energies through partisan channels and the once-mighty radical parties have faded to fringe status. Although these days an occasional minor party candidate wins an election here or there, they are more apt to be moderate or conservative (James Buckley in New York, the younger Harry Byrd in Virginia, Lowell Weicker in Connecticut, Augustus King in Maine, Jesse Ventura in Minnesota) than leftist (Bernie Sanders in Vermont). Even Vermont Socialist Sanders runs under an "independent" label.

As we move into the Fifties and Sixties, the battles move into social realms. Civil Rights, Peace, Feminism and other ideological struggles replace political campaigns. Buhle and Sullivan provide a colorful and interesting selection of illustrations from this era as well.

Given the emphasis of *The Keynoter*, I have focused heavily on the illustrations. I do not wish to overlook the excellent text. Well-written with clarity and a sense for what is important, the text is not a polemic. The authors do not try to push radical thought down the reader's throat. In fact, given the diversity of movements and ideas covered by this work, it would be impossible to find a consistent ideology beyond a general sense that the poor are often ill-treated and the solution is most likely to be found in social action. The cast of characters ranges through utopian dreamers, religious idealists, practical laborers, passionate poets, angry painters, cynical manipulators, skillful civic administrators, folk singers, iconoclastic students, tweedy professors, anarchists, street politicians, Christian socialists, authoritarian collectivists, free thinkers and a great many very ordinary Americans who made small but significant decisions about how they would lead their lives.



One does not have to be a radical to appreciate the grandeur of the story presented by Buhle and Sullivan. In political terms, this reviewer is a moderate Republican. But the story told in *Images of American Radicalism* is an essential – and often overlooked – part of the fabric of our Republic. Besides, this book contains beautiful illustrations of some great items.★


# I HEAR Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS

*America's foremost Negro Leader and Author*  
Novelist, historian, lecturer . . . research director, National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People.

DR. DUBOIS WILL DISCUSS

## The FIGHT for EQUALITY and PEACE

ONLY APPEARANCE IN THIS CITY!



**Friday, March 5,<sup>8</sup>**  
**TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL**  
43rd Street and Broadway, Oakland  
**Admission 50c inc. tax**

**Sponsors:** *Bonnie Altman, Muriel Alexander, Claude O. Allen, Fred Alton Ray, A. O. Ball, Raymond C. Beardsley, O. L. Conrad, Leonard Crozman, Yvonne Davis, C. L. DeLaine, Barbara Edwards, O. S. Fagerhaug, Ray, D. Leonard, Rosamundine, Florida Ferguson, The West Reserve, William Henry Francis, Ray, Basil O. Gaultinger, Mrs. Audrey J. Hightshower, Frances Houston, Four Friends, Ray, Mr. T. Johnson, M. L. Johnson, Jr., Ray, Elmer David Kennedy, Vanessa Lewis, Ray, John Charles, Walsh, A. N. Warner, John P. Parsons, Louis J. Segal, Bertha, William M. Vane, Mrs. Elma Turner & S. Tomlin, J. Watson, Warren, Ray, Chas. W. Wilson, Scott Woodbury, Bonney Young.*

*Auspices California Labor School*



# SOCIALIST SPECIAL TRAIN

TRANS-CONTINENTAL CAMPAIGN TRIP

**SPEECHES and BAND CONCERTS**

Time and Place of all stops of flyer sent out by the  
Working Class in its Record-Breaking Educational Effort

**EUGENE V. DEBS**

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, AND OTHER SPEAKERS AND THE  
FAMOUS SOCIALIST VOLUNTEER BAND WILL BE ABOARD.

**STOPS AND EXACT TIME**

# STOP NEXT WAR

# NOW

PRESIDENT  
Eugene V. Debs



VICE PRESIDENT  
Seymour Stedman



TREASURER  
J. B. Flannery



1ST VICE PRESIDENT  
H. Kleist



GOVERNOR  
W. Coleman



SECY OF STATE  
A. A. Trojahn



U.S. SENATOR  
F. J. Weber

THESE  
MEN STOOD FIRM

AGAINST MILITARISM AND WAR

VOTE FOR THEM ON THE

# Socialist Ticket

# VOTE For VICTORY



**OTIS A. HOOD**

Communist Candidate  
for Governor

*America's Security Demands  
A Second Front Now!*

Above: Massachusetts item

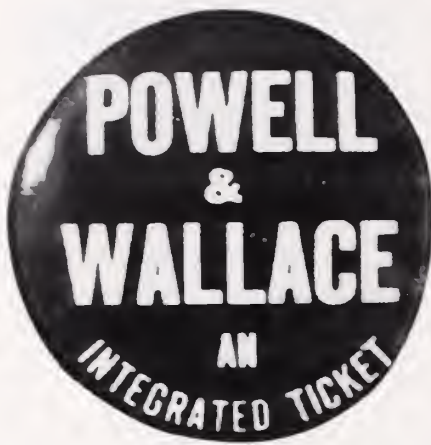
INDUCTION OF NEW MEMBERS



COMMUNIST  
PARTY  
U.S.A.

MADISON SQ.  
GARDEN

SEPT. 11  
1939



Civil Rights, during an era of strict segregation, gave Henry Wallace one of his strongest issues and the potential for votes among African-Americans. The button (shown enlarged) above boosts Wallace on a ticket with Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.



HEAR

**HENRY  
WALLACE**

- PAUL ROBESON
- FRANK KINGDON
- ENTERTAINMENT



**CONVENTION HALL - 34th below Spruce  
Friday, September 19—8:00 P. M.**

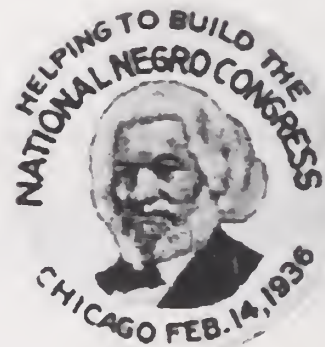
TICKETS ON SALE NOW AT  
PCA, 1831 CHESTNUT STREET

L.O. 7-4313

.65, .90, 1.30, 2.00, 3.00 TAX INC.  
(ALL SEATS RESERVED)

Progressive Citizens of America

auspices of  
**PCA**



## OFFICIAL PROGRAM

*of the National  
Founding Convention  
of the New Party  
Philadelphia  
July 23-25, 1948*

The 1948 Progressive Party campaign of Henry Wallace was the last broadly-based electoral effort by the American Left. Thereafter, electoral-minded radicals either went into the fringes with a half dozen minor Socialist parties or blended into the mainstream with the Democrats. Activism focused on issues rather than parties.



# Georgia History in Pictures

## Consuming Politics: The Material Culture of Georgia Campaigns and Conventions, 1840-1976

By John Gingerich  
Edited by Grace Elizabeth Hale

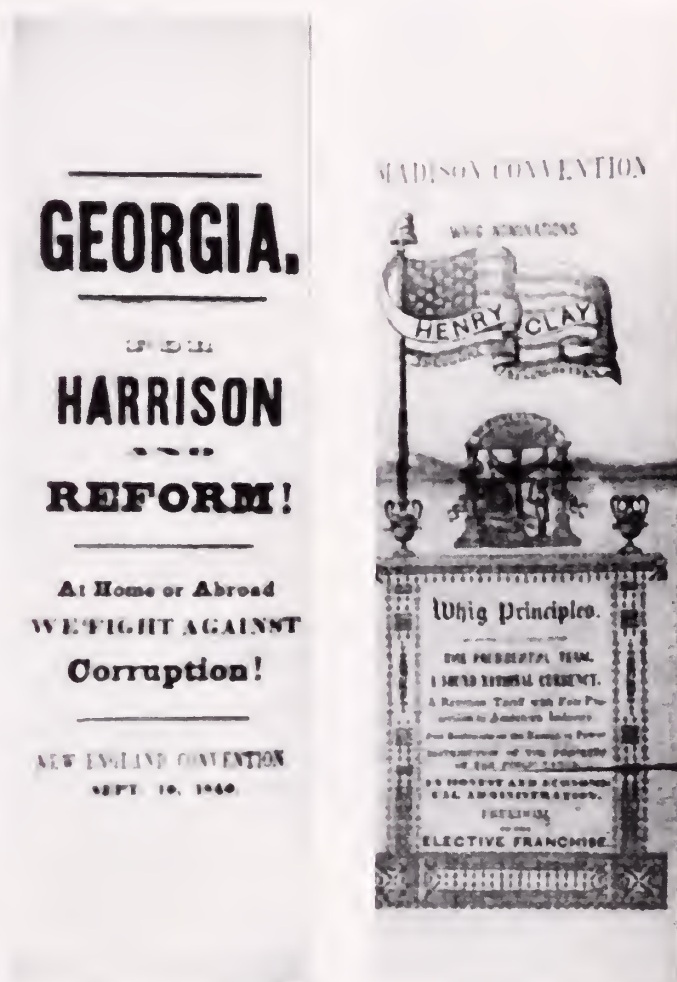
On August 13 and 14, 1840 in Macon, Georgia, "Tippecanoe Clubs" from every part of the state had been organized and assembled for the Great Harrison Convention, barbecue and parade. An estimated 15,000 people including delegates and onlookers came by horseback, buggies, and ox-cart for what newspapers called "the largest gathering of people in numbers and in strength that had ever assembled in the State." The Milledgeville Whig paper, the *Southern Recorder*, reported on the two days of speeches and on the barbecue where tables measuring almost one half mile in length fed over two thousand people with 300 pounds of bread, 154 hogs and sheep, 2,500 pounds of ham, and 10 quarter casks of wine. Several delegations built log cabins large enough for a dozen or so men to sleep in, put them on wheels, and had them pulled by mules or horses for miles to the convention. These cabins were decorated with cider barrels and strings of red peppers hung from the door latches.

Delegations from different counties and states rallied under their parade banners with such devices as Clarke County's "Harrison and Tyler," a log cabin above which the American Eagle hovered with a scroll inscribed, "I come from the people" and below "Old Clarke will go it or burst." A smaller flag below read: "Sink or Swim, Live or Die, Survive or Perish, We Vote for the People's Candidate." Bibb County carried several banners, including one with a likeness of Harrison inscribed, "The last hope of the Republic" and on the reverse, "A Southern Man with Southern Principles."

Another Bibb County banner displayed a log cabin crowned with a scroll reading "Harrison and Tyler" on one side and "We Will Teach the Palace Slaves to Respect the Log Cabins" on the other. Houston County had a large banner followed by six small ones – the last of which read "Purge the Public Offices" reversed with "Clear the Kitchen." This banner was followed by twelve men with brooms. The newspaper article continued for columns, describing the banners of over forty counties from at least two states.

William Henry Harrison aimed his "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" race at the common man, and the campaign generated the first mass production of political material culture in the history of the United States. Not only were tokens, broadsides, and banners produced, as in previous elections, but almost everything a "voting man" could use was emblazoned with a log cabin logo or Harrison's image: snuff boxes, hair brushes, porcelain dinnerware and lusterware for adults as well as children's sets, crockery, pewter spoons,

clocks, thread boxes, cane heads, clothing buttons, fancy brooches, hand-painted cigar cases, yard goods, stationary and almanacs, glass flasks and tumblers. A vast array of products were employed by the Whigs in what became the nation's first mass marketed presidential campaign.



Although it became a Democratic stronghold after the Civil War, before secession there were plenty of Whig Party enthusiasts in Georgia. The ribbon on the left identifies the wearer as a Georgia Whig attending an 1840 Harrison Whig convention in New England. The ribbon on the right is from a Madison, Georgia, Whig convention boosting Henry Clay for President in 1844.



The 1840 election taught the Whig party much about campaigning and they repeated their parades, barbecues, and hoopla in 1844 with "the Ashland Farmer" and "Old Kentucky Coon." Henry Clay, as their standard bearer. A huge Whig rally was planned for Madison, Georgia where the party estimated, in the common partisan exaggeration, that fifteen to twenty thousand people attended. Once again the *Southern Recorder* devoted most of one page to descriptions of banners and ribbons. One banner read "Talliaferro Comty elect: Clay, Frelinghuysen, and Stephens." In the course of his long career, Alexander Stephens was a prominent Whig, the vice president of the Confederacy, and a U.S. senator. Gwinnett County brought the most unusual banner, a coon devouring poke berries beneath a "That Same Old Coon" inscription and on the reverse "Gwinnett, From Hill and Valley for Clay We Rally" and a rising sun inscribed "CLAY." No other existing campaign materials refer to Democrat James K. Polk as "poke berries" being consumed by "that same old Coon."

All over the country political parties staged conventions like the 1840 gathering in Macon and the 1844 meeting in Madison. Over a hundred and fifty years later, hundreds of varieties of the ribbons produced still exist, and scores of parade banners are in museums and private collections. Yet not one artifact from the Macon convention survives today; the Harrison ribbon pictured on page 875 was worn by the Georgia delegation to a New England convention, and the Clay ribbon depicted is the only artifact from the Madison convention.

Conditions in the South were not conducive to the preservation of material of this sort. Heat, mildew, insects, a war on home soil, and ignorance have all taken their toll. Yet not only nineteenth-century political campaign artifacts have suffered in the South. Many of the items produced by and for Georgia political campaigns and conventions, from the 1840 Harrison campaign to the present, have not survived the climate and the dislocations of modern southern life. The

material culture of American politics has by design been ephemeral. Campaigns produced thousands of items, all meant to be used and thrown out before the next election.

Artifacts that have survived were most often preserved as personal keepsakes, thrown in a box or a drawer and soon forgotten. Occasionally, collectors have found broadsides backing old picture frames or signs built onto the backs of jelly cupboards. The tin sign (pictured on the previous page) endorsing both Grover Cleveland and the New Home sewing machine company, survived as the back of a piece of furniture. The many rare items reproduced here animate the slogans, symbols, and strategies of our past political life. What Georgia history awaits in your grandfather's cigar box, your great aunt's sewing kit, or behind the frame of that favorite family photograph?★

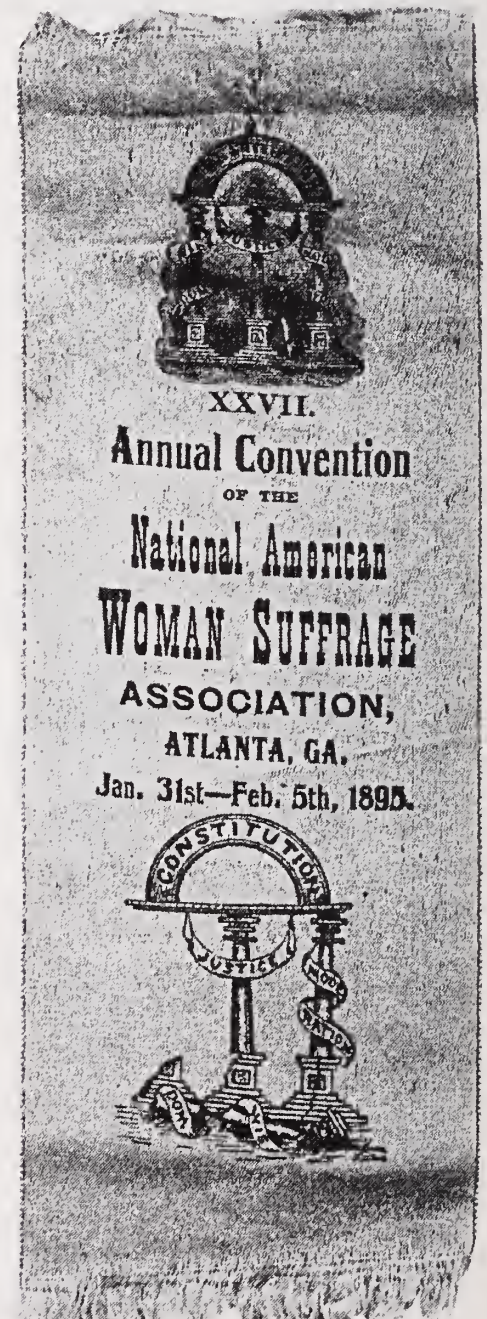


THE  
PEOPLE'S  
CHOICE

BUY THE LIGHT RUNNING  
**NEW HOME**  
SEWING MACHINE.

CAPPS & KIMSEY  
Mount Airy, Ga.

The firm of Capps & Kimsey in Mount Airy, Georgia put out the above sign promoting Grover Cleveland and the New Home Sewing Machine, both of which we are assured are "The People's Choice." The ribbon on the right is from the National Women's Suffrage Association's 1895 meeting in Atlanta. It was the first association meeting outside Washington. Note that the Georgia state seal is picture intact on the top of the ribbon but below it is shown with the pillars of Wisdom, Justice and Moderation broken and cracking because women didn't have the vote.



XXVII.  
Annual Convention  
OF THE  
National American  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
ASSOCIATION,  
ATLANTA, GA.  
Jan. 31st—Feb. 5th, 1895.

CONSTITUTION  
JUSTICE  
MODERATION





A montage of Georgia-related items from the collection of John Gingerich





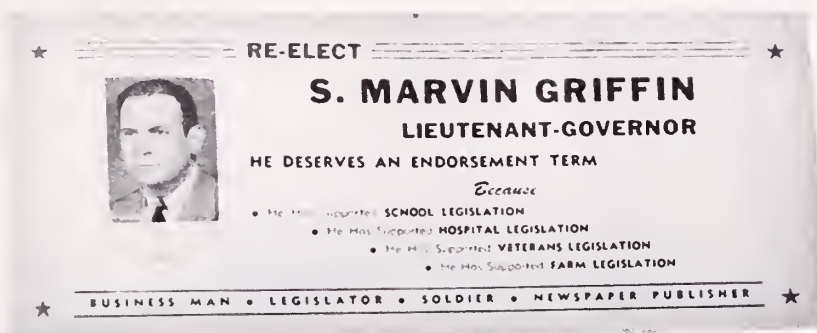
Trade cards, often including unauthorized use of a candidates' images, were used as advertising from the 1860s until the turn of the century. This set of cards bears an Athens, Ga. store name, Orr and Hunter, and memorializes President James Garfield after his assassination in 1881, along with his wife (above), his mother, and his assassin, Charles Guiteau, shown dancing as a madman with his "Bulldog" pistol in one hand, a scroll "An Office or Your Life" in the other, and law and order underfoot.







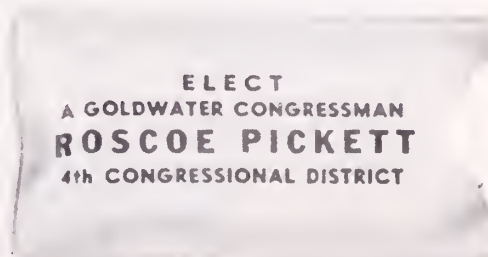
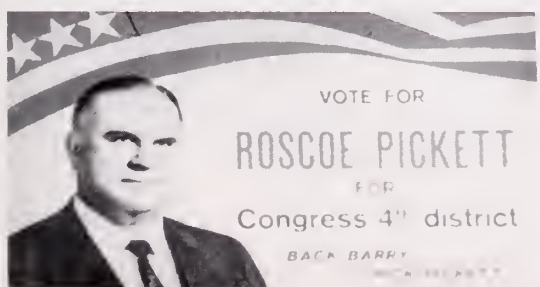
Left: In 1898, President McKinley came to Macon, Georgia for a Peace Jubilee at the end of the Spanish American War. While there, he honored the graves of Confederate soldiers. Members of the Confederate Veterans of the Bibb County Camp #484 marched out to the depot wearing this silk ribbon to return the honor. Above: President Taft items reflecting the "Billy Possum" theme. When Taft was served possum for dinner in Atlanta, it started a possum craze and *Atlanta Constitution* cartoonist Lewis Gregg created "Billy Possum" in 1908 as an answer to TR's "Teddy Bear."



PROVEN FOR PROGRESS  
GRIFFIN for GOVERNOR



Above: Marvin Griffin's campaigns for governor during the 1960s produced an abundance of material. In 1968, Democrat Griffin was tapped as a temporary running mate for George Wallace's American Independent Party (to meet early ballot requirements) until Gen. Curtis LeMay was formally chosen later in the campaign. Below: 1964 didn't produce a lot of Goldwater coattail items from GOP candidates. An exception was Georgia congressional hopeful Roscoe Pickett who used the slogan "Back Barry - Pick Pickett." Neither man won.



## Georgia And F.D.R.



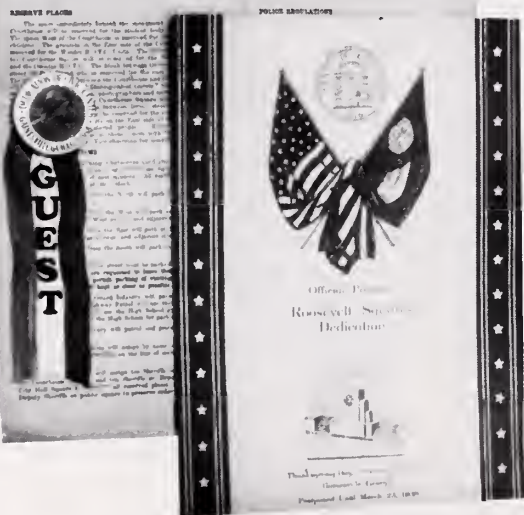
TEXTILE DEPARTMENT GEORGIA TECH

Georgia's love affair with Franklin D. Roosevelt has left a relative abundance of political material, including the pictured group of signs, tickets, ribbons and buttons for Atlanta's Roosevelt Homecoming Day celebration in November 1935 (upper left). No previous president inspired a wider variety of likenesses in more different media than did FDR. This 10" x 11" fabric portrait (upper right) was woven in the Textile Department at Georgia Tech. Note that the makers did not feel a need to identify the famous face. On April 6, 1936, a tornado hit downtown Gainesville, Georgia, killing many residents and destroying the courthouse. Three days later FDR visited Gainesville and offered federal government help in rebuilding efforts. In thanks, the town designated the rebuilt area as Roosevelt Square (see lower left). The design on the button worn at the event is quite similar to the official 1937 Roosevelt Inaugural Medal. The rare item pictured lower right is a cardboard ice cream cup from Durr's Creamery in Macon, Georgia, used during Roosevelt's first re-election campaign in 1936. It carries jugate portraits of FDR and running mate John Nance Garner. The cup survived for decades exposed to the elements in a Macon cellar. The bottom reads: "To release contents, dip in luke warm water. Then invert and puncture bottom with a knife point."

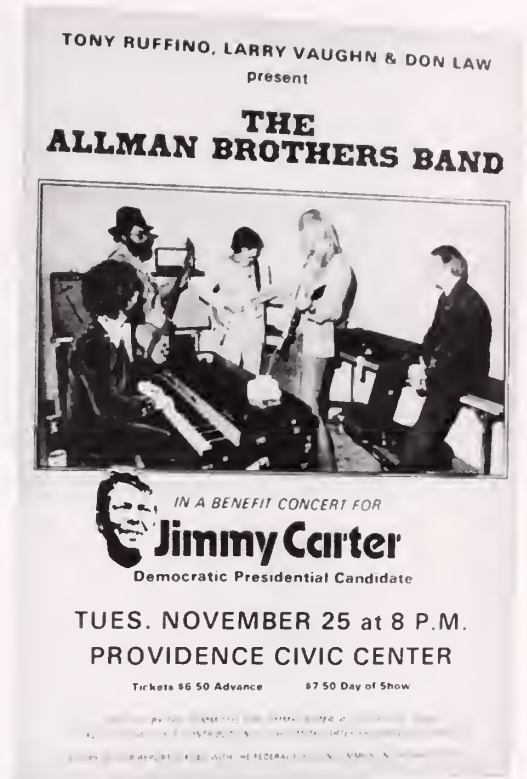
## Gainesville's Roosevelt Day March 23, 1938

Every Gainesville Citizen Should Read This Notice

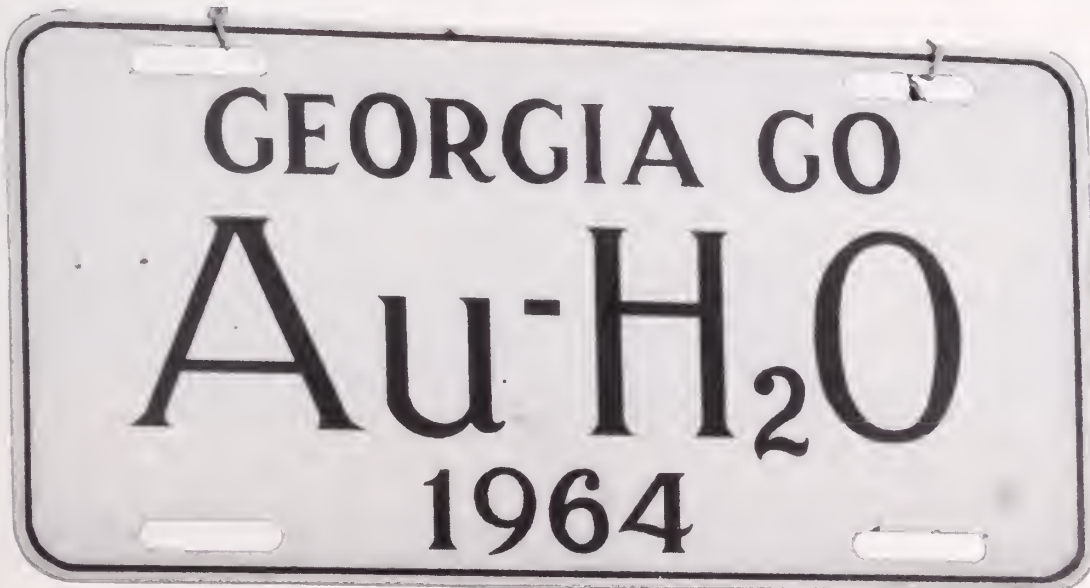
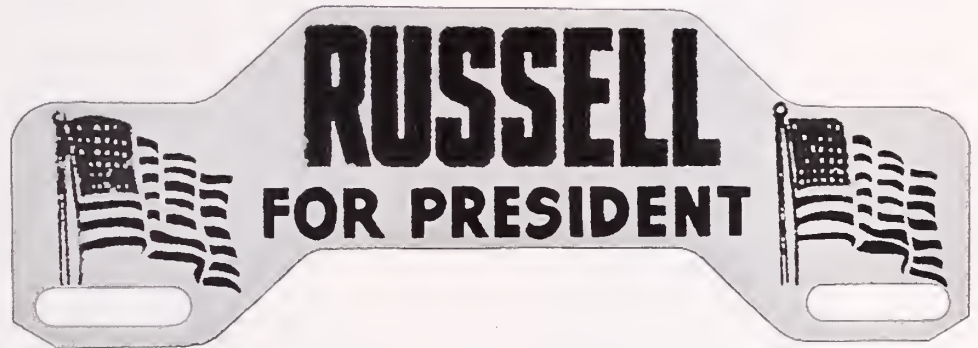
### Special Regulations



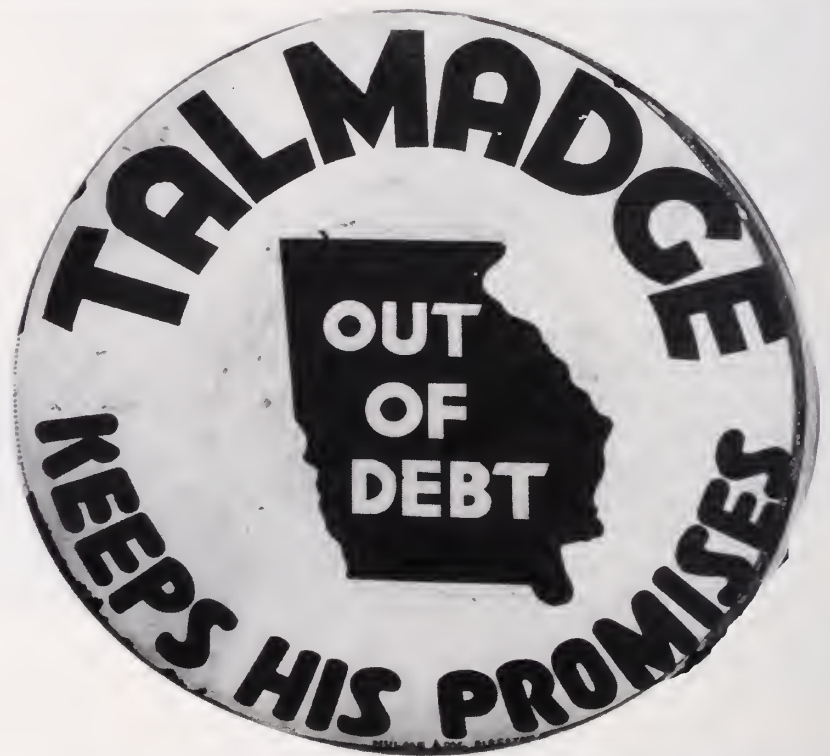




Jimmy Carter ran for governor in 1966 and 1970, the first time losing to Lester Maddox in the primary and the second time defeating Republican Hal Suit. Pictured above are the two known gubernatorial buttons, an oversized postcard and a campaign stationary envelope. To the upper right is a poster for a Carter fundraiser in Rhode Island starring Georgia's Allman Brothers Band.



Two Georgia license plates: above is from U.S. Sen. Richard Russell's 1952 race for the Democratic presidential nomination; left is from Barry Goldwater's 1964 race.



The Talmadge dynasty, the reign of the famous red galluses (suspenders), was unique in Georgia history. Eugene and his son Herman were active in state politics for almost sixty years, both winning and losing races for governor and U.S. Senate. Pictured here are a peach adorned auto tag, a colored plaster of Paris statue of "Old Gene," a spare tire cover and an early bumper sticker.



# L. T. Dickinson's UCV Postcards

By Peggy A. Dillard

Heightened interest in the Civil War and in the activities of Confederate veterans has recently brought to light the postcard cartoons of L.T. Dickinson. These cards, issued between the years of 1886-1923, are considered scarce and desirable by Civil War collectors. They are of interest also to political collectors as Dickinson decorated his postal reminders of the monthly UCV (United Confederate Veterans) meetings with his original art. His pen and ink drawings were reproduced by mimeograph and reflected his views on local, national, and international issues of the day.

L.T. Dickinson was born in Allegheny County, Maryland in 1843. Dickinson joined a Confederate Maryland Calvary troop when the Civil War began. He was wounded three times in battle and was captured twice, spending time in military prisons. Following prisoner exchanges, he always returned to action. A severe wound received at Morton's Ford, Virginia resulted in Dickinson being in the hospital at the close of the war. In fact, it was complications of this wound which led to his death some sixty years later.

Dickinson settled in Chattanooga, Tennessee following the war where he became a prominent business-man, educator and community leader. Through the years, as people's respect for Dickinson grew, the man who began

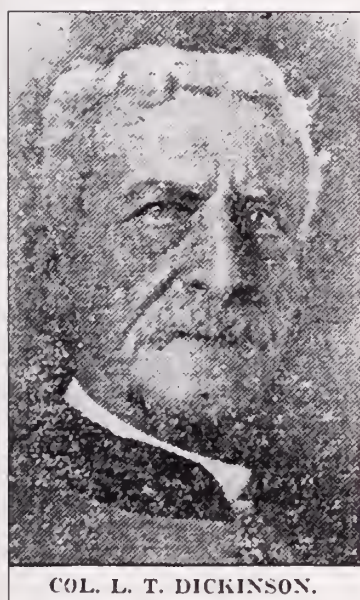
and finished the war as a private, was "promoted" by the public, who awarded him the title of "Col. Dickinson."

"Col. Dickinson" became the adjunct of the Nathan Bedford Forrest chapter of the United Confederate Veteran organization, serving in that capacity for 26 years. Among his responsibilities were keeping the minutes of the camp meetings and sending reminders of those meetings. The camp's records were considered remarkable even at the time for their complete accuracy and the numerous artistic embellishments. Thankfully these records were preserved over the years and can be found along with some of the postcards in the possession of the Chattanooga Public Library.

Dickinson died at his daughter's home in Keoka, Iowa on March 31, 1923 and is buried in the Confederate Veteran Cemetery there.

The following postcards were selected to represent some of the more interesting political subjects. Teddy Roosevelt was a popular subject of "Col. Dickinson" as he was for other cartoonists of his day. Of note are the two postcards which reflect Dickinson's views on the Roosevelt-Booker T. Washington White House dinner.


These cards are an informative reflection of popular sentiments of the post war South, at least as far as the majority population was concerned.★



COL. L. T. DICKINSON.



This United Confederate Veterans meeting notice drawn by L. T. Dickinson features an example of Southern reaction to President Theodore Roosevelt's 1901 dinner invitation to black educator Booker T. Washington. That event inspired a wide array of material, most notably the "Equality" buttons.



Prince Henry might find this an acceptable gift to Teddy.

N.B. FORREST CAMP. No. 4.  
United Confederate Veterans  
Chattanooga Tenn.  
Tuesday night. Feby 4<sup>th</sup> 1902.  
At 7.30 P.M.

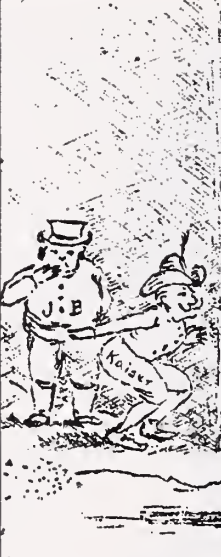
Circular from Southern Women's monument Committee.  
Resolutions from Montgomery Chapter U.D.C.  
Other important communications L. J. Dickinson.  
Adjutant.



In 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt hosted German Prince Henry at a lavish dinner at the White House. It appears that - among Confederate veterans at least - TR's earlier dinner with Booker T. Washington was still a hot topic.




1903 saw an international crisis as English and German warships attacked Venezuela in an attempt to collect overdue debts. President Roosevelt intervened to prevent European seizure of additional territory in the Western Hemisphere.



N.B Forrest Camp.  
United Confederate Veterans  
Tuesday night. Jan'y 6<sup>th</sup> 1903.  
at 7.30 o'clock.

Installation of Officers  
Resolutions upon the death of General Moorman.  
Annual reports from Treasurer and Sergeant Major.  
L. J. Dickinson.  
Adjutant.



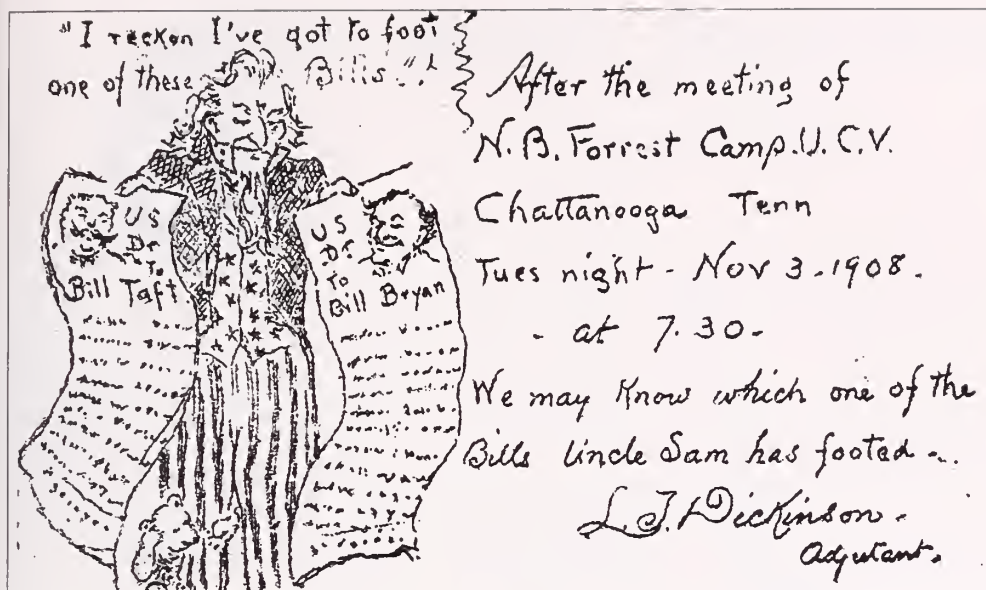
N.B. FORREST CAMP  
United Confederate Veterans  
Chattanooga Tenn.  
Tuesday night  
Sept 4<sup>th</sup> 1906  
7.30 O'Clock.

Final preparations for reception of our Visitors  
L. J. Dickinson.  
adjutant.



William Jennings Bryan's dreams of the White House never faded. The Democratic nominee in 1896 and 1900, he was passed over in 1904 when TR won an easy reelection. Bryan would be back as the Democratic nominee in 1908.

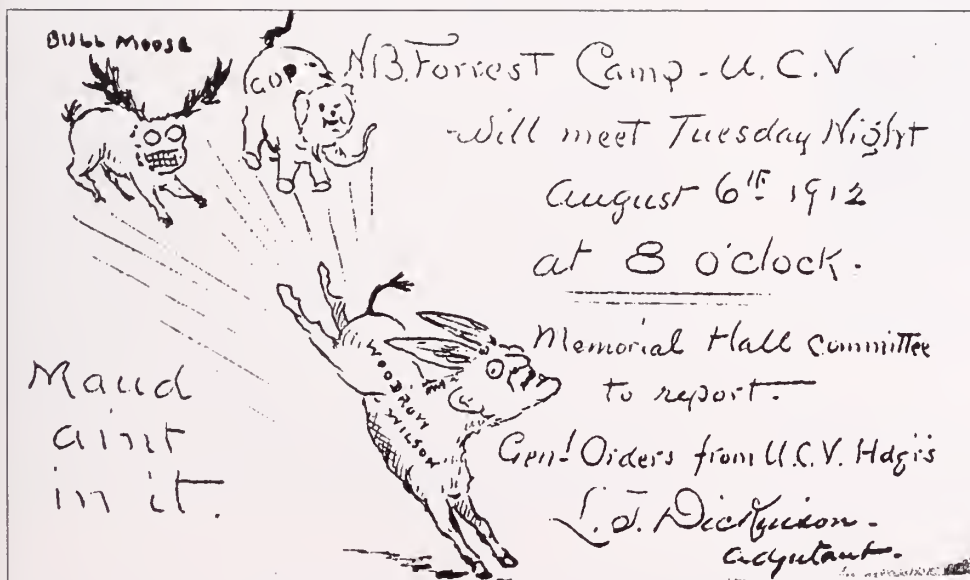
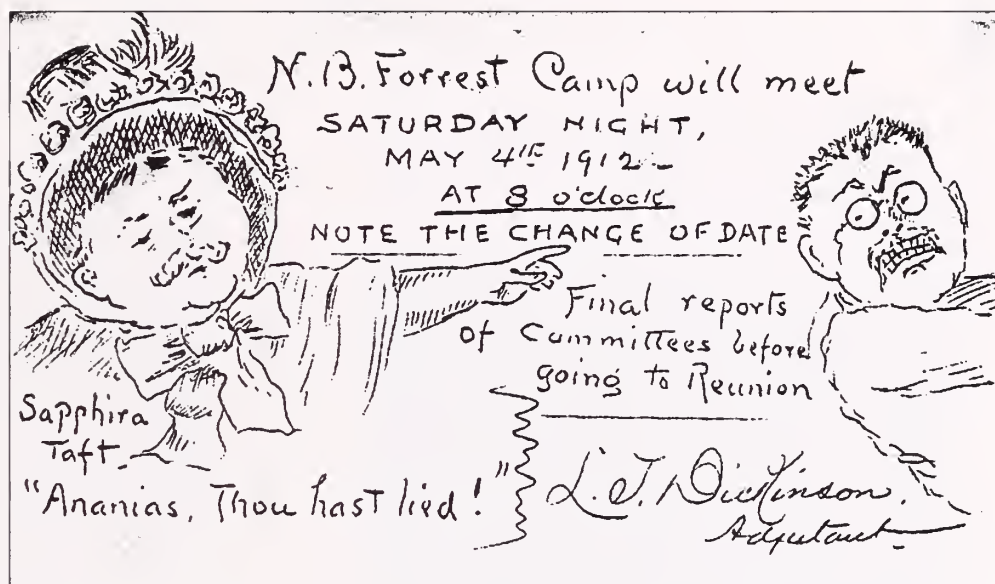




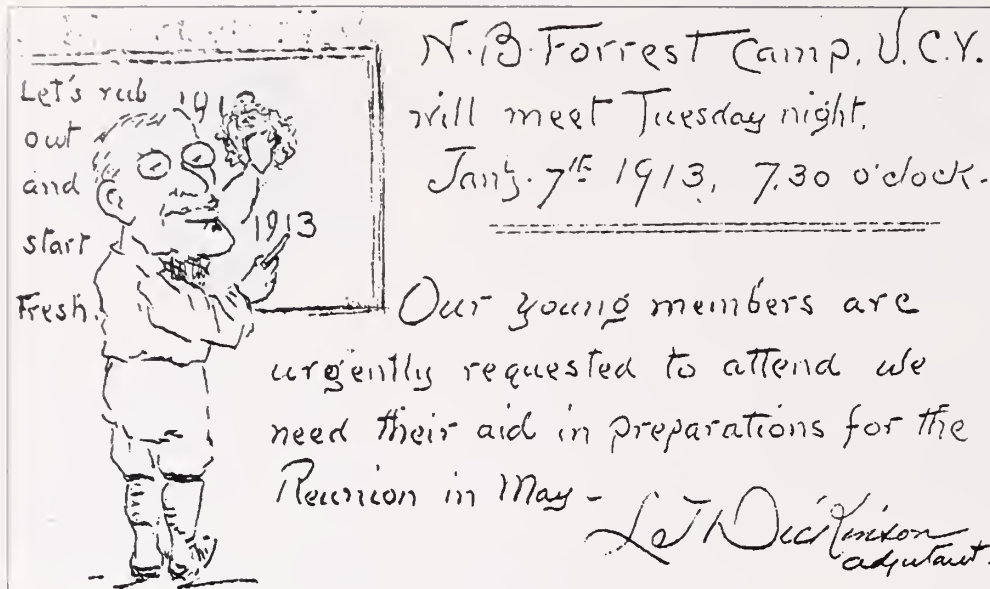
A variety of paper items from the 1908 contest between Bill Taft and Bill Bryan deals with their common given name, often with a play on the idea of "bill" as a term for an invoice. This snappy bit of wordplay did not escape Dickinson's UCV cards.



When TR ran in 1912, one of the harshest accusations thrown at him was that he had once said that he didn't want a third term. When he changed his mind, opponents accused him of "lying." The yardstick for political ethics has shifted somewhat since.



Imagine how pleased the Southern Democrats of the UCV must have felt when the split between Republicans Taft and Roosevelt in 1912 left the door open for the Democratic nominee, Virginia-born Woodrow Wilson, to take the White House.



Woodrow Wilson's election appears to have brought new optimism for L. T. Dickinson and his Confederate veterans, as indicated in this card showing the incoming President cleaning off the blackboard for a fresh start.

### In A Prison Cell Because They Are Loyal To Their Class

TWO NOBLE FIGHTERS IN THE STRUGGLE OF TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND STRIKING TEXTILE WORKERS WHOSE WAGES AVERAGED LESS THAN SIX DOLLARS PER WEEK.



**Our Fellow Workers  
Arturo Giovannitti & Joseph J. Ettor**

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING CO.

Another illustration from *Images of American Radicalism*. This flier reflects the open conflict between Capital and Labor during the Golden Age of radicalism. Note the prominent placement of the union bug at the bottom. There is a button expressing solidarity with Giovannitti and Ettor pictured on page 16.

(Intern - continued from page 31)

found the mask. It turns out that the original record was not erroneous at all. I had been looking for the mask that was lost while on loan to another museum, thinking it was the only Mills mask owned by the Smithsonian. It became clear that museum actually had two Mills masks, a discovery that surprised both the staff and myself. Although the staff eventually would have detected the problem, I was thrilled that my search for the mask could have assisted the museum in this way.

In addition to my research project, Dr. Bird allowed me to gather some objects for the Smithsonian's collection. I attended the memorial service for the two Capitol Police officers who were gunned down while protecting the Capitol, and gathered memorial items to be placed in the museum's collection so that these brave men would not be forgotten. On a lighter note, I also went to the federal courthouse while Monica Lewinsky was testifying to collect some humorous items including some "Clintissue" which, as the name implies, is toilet paper with the President's face on it.

By the end of my six weeks, I had learned a significant amount about the thirteen objects I was researching, and hopefully gave Dr. Bird some assistance in writing the pamphlet on these items. Moreover, I did meaningful research at the Library of Congress, saw priceless American artifacts, learned some basic curatorial practices, and attended museum lectures by graduate students and the Secretary of the Smithsonian. As an added bonus, I was able to do all of this in Washington D.C., so when I wasn't working at the museum I heard Congressional debates or saw the great monuments and buildings scattered throughout the city. It was my honor to represent the American Political Items Collectors at the Smithsonian, and would like to thank A.P.I.C. for its generosity in allowing a fellow enthusiast this sensational opportunity.★



# 1998 APIC Intern Report

By Colin Moore

"An experience of a lifetime" was the phrase used to describe the Smithsonian/Mark Jacobs internship in the informational letter I received prior to applying. At the time, I thought such a bold claim was dubious at best, for it seems that everything from soda pop to new cars is described in this context. As I soon discovered, however, the letter perfectly described my experience at the Smithsonian.

Upon my arrival, Dr. Larry Bird, curator of the Division of Political History and also my supervisor, ushered me into the collection. He began to open cabinet after cabinet revealing the most priceless artifacts of political Americana. On that first day, I saw everything from Lewis & Clark's compass to Abraham Lincoln's hat. A thin cotton glove was the only thing separating me from the items owned and treasured by some of the greatest men and women in the history of the United States. Needless to say, my hands were visibly shaking when I picked up George Washington's thornwood cane.

At the museum, my assignment was to assist Dr. Bird in collecting data regarding significant items in the collection, so that a pamphlet could be published and given to people curious about such objects. There were about thirteen items on the list ranging from the "Jailed for Freedom" pin Alice Paul received after her heroic fight for women's suffrage, to an ivory cane given to John Quincy Adams for his stalwart defense of the right to petition Congress.

My study of these items led me to the museum's accession files, which are a collection of documents attached to a certain museum object. Most importantly, though, the files catalog how and when an object came to the museum, which were essential data for the pamphlet. The papers in the files date back to the nineteenth century and so I became particularly proficient at deciphering extremely ornate handwriting. The files, imperfect as they were, did give me some leads. Of paramount importance in this research were any stories or funny anecdotes about these objects. After exhausting the historical information on the objects at the museum, Dr. Bird suggested that I go to the Library of Congress. I was taken aback and even intimidated by the suggestion that I conduct my research at the largest library in the United States, a place where *real* scholars go to study. Receiving my Library of Congress reader card and actually doing research in the Jefferson Building reading room was indescribable. I spent about a week in the library just tracing the various histories of the items on my list.

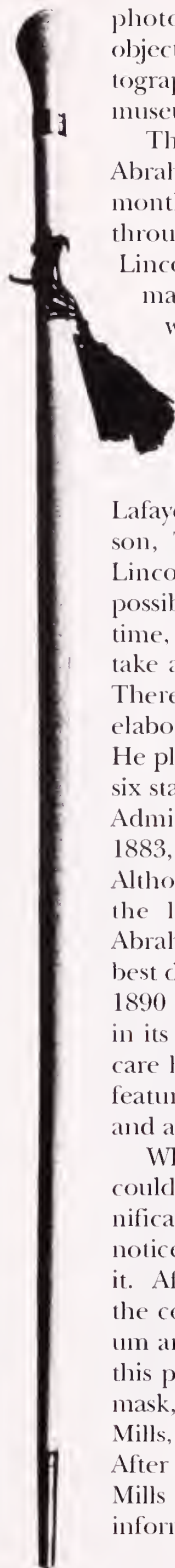
In addition to historical information, Dr. Bird wanted color pictures of all the objects on my list. To remedy this problem, I spent a couple of days with the Smithsonian's

photographers assisting them in photographing the objects. It was while searching for a certain object to photograph that I felt my research most greatly helped the museum.

The object in question was the plaster life mask of Abraham Lincoln made in 1865 by Clark Mills, just two months prior to Lincoln's assassination. It is said that through this mask one can see the stress the Civil War on Lincoln's face. The rather mysterious thing about the mask, however, is that nobody is sure why Lincoln would have sat for the casting during the turbulent post-Civil War period. The only plausible explanation for this is that Lincoln was a great admirer of Mill's work. Years before his work on Lincoln's face mask, Clark Mills created the famous statue of Andrew Jackson across from The White House in Lafayette Park. Rumor has it that once Lincoln and his son, Tad, were playing in the park when Tad locked Lincoln in the gated area around the Jackson statue. It is possible that Lincoln had admired Mills's work at this time, which may be the reason why he allowed Mills to take a cast of him during such a busy and stressful time. There is evidence to believe that Mills wanted to make an elaborate Civil War memorial with the Lincoln life mask. He planned that it would be many stories high with thirty-six statues of prominent generals and men in the Lincoln Administration. Unfortunately, however, Mills died in 1883, while the memorial was still in its planning stages. Although the mask has become known as "Old Ugly," it is the last and possibly the most accurate likeness of Abraham Lincoln. The simplistic beauty of this mask is best described by John Hay who wrote the following in an 1890 Century Magazine article: "It is so sad and peaceful in its infinite repose...a look as of one whom sorrow and care had done their worst without victory is on all of the features; the whole expression is of unspeakable sadness and all-sufficing strength..."

When it came time to photograph the Lincoln mask, I couldn't find it in the recorded location, even after a significant amount of searching. There was, however, a notice which stated that another museum was borrowing it. After discussing the problem with the curatorial staff, the collection curator remembered contacting this museum and being told that the mask could not be found. At this point, I mentioned my discovery of an article on the mask, which claimed that Theodore Mills, son of Clark Mills, had donated the mask to the Smithsonian in 1889. After checking the records, it became clear that Theodore Mills had donated a mask to the museum. With this new information, I looked through the correct cabinet and

(Continued on page 30)



The cane given to John Quincy Adams in recognition of his battle against slavery.

# Theodore Roosevelt in Cartoon Art: Debut, 1883 - 1884

By Roger A. Fischer

For more than a third of a century, from early cartoons saluting his initiatives as a young Assemblyman in Albany through such 1919 obituary tributes as "Ding" Darling's memorable "Long, Long Trail," Theodore Roosevelt served splendidly the corps of artists who critiqued American politics through the medium of caricature and cartoon art. Roosevelt was uncommonly suited to such exploitation by his celebrity as a man and stature as a statesman, his penchant for grand gestures (personal and political), a genius for championing causes that stirred the public imagination, and physical features so conducive to caricature that gifted artists used him to achieve greatness and mediocre ones to attain adequacy. Roosevelt scholars are most familiar with this graphic legacy through Albert Shaw's 1910 *A Cartoon History of*

*Roosevelt's Career* and the copious illustrations in Stefan Lorant's 1959 *Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*.

Roosevelt's debut as an artifact of American political cartoon art took place during his tumultuous apprenticeship in elective politics as the *enfant terrible* of the New York Assembly who triumphed against improbable odds and the combined resistance of Tammany Hall and his own party's elder statesmen to impose a succession of reforms upon the municipal government of New York City. Defeated in a bid for the speakership after a term as Republican minority leader but given the Committee on Cities chairmanship as a consolation prize, Roosevelt quickly transformed that moribund body into the first of many "bully pulpits" he would exploit during his career, and pushed to passage a series of reform measures. The capstone of his efforts was "An Act to Center Responsibility in the Municipal Government of the City of New York," forty words of urban political revolution that conferred upon mayors exclusive authority to hire and fire department heads and stripped from the Tammany-dominated Board of Alderman confirming power over mayoral appointments. Subsequently placed in charge of a special Assembly committee of inquiry into corruption in city government, Roosevelt proposed nine more reform measures and won passage of seven, most notably a bill imposing a civil service system upon New York City municipal employees. Although he failed to legislate fundamental reorganization of the city's notoriously corrupt police force, he overcame fierce opposition to bring "New York's finest" under the aegis of civil service.

According to Shaw and Lorant, this civil service initiative inspired the first two Roosevelt cartoons, both penned by the eminent Thomas Nast and published in *Harper's Weekly*. On April 19, 1884, Nast's "Reform Without Bloodshed" (fig.1) portrayed Governor Grover Cleveland signing into law a stack of TR reform bills, a celebration of the pair "at their good work." On May 10, 1884, Nast's "Our New Watchman - Roosevelt" (fig.2) featured TR as a patrolman driving from the temple of city government the spoilsmen of Tammany and Irving Hall with his civil service measure as Cleveland looked on.

In truth, however, Roosevelt had first appeared in a political cartoon more than a year before "Reform Without Bloodshed" and had done so on at least five other occasions, in full color no less, by the time Nast initially paid graphic tribute to him. During the 1883 session, Roosevelt's stint as Republican minority leader was characterized more by frenetic activity than by common sense. One such incident was his introduction of a bill, aimed at wife-beaters and modeled on a similar measure



Figure 1. Thomas Nast's cartoon "Reform Without Bloodshed," showing two future Presidents of the United States as Republican Assemblyman Theodore Roosevelt presents Democratic Governor Grover Cleveland of New York with a stack of reform bills. This cartoon appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, April 19, 1884. Later that year, Cleveland was elected President.



in practice in Delaware, authorizing “the infliction of corporal punishment upon [certain] male persons” at public whipping-posts! Scoffers predicted that Roosevelt would next try to resurrect the thumbscrew and the rack, but the idea was endorsed enthusiastically by *The Judge*, the Manhattan-based illustrated humor weekly begun in 1881 by James A. Wales as a rival to Joseph Keppler’s *Puck*. On March 3, 1883, Wales featured on his front cover Thomas Worth’s color cartoon “Sensible Roosevelt” (fig. 3), portraying a masked man flogging a manacled lout with a “cat of nine tails” to the satisfaction of a battered and bandaged wife. Opinions differ as to whether the masked man with the whip is suppose to be Roosevelt, but this cartoon is the first known cartoon reference to Theodore Roosevelt.

Roosevelt’s 1884 crusade to strip the Board of Aldermen of confirming power inspired a pair of Friedrich Graetz *Puck* front cover color cartoons. A German emigre who never learned English, Graetz first

featured Roosevelt in his February 20, 1884, cartoon “Make Him Harmless!” (fig. 4), depicting TR declawing the fierce Tammany tiger before a cowering trio of mayors past and present, all maimed and bloodied by the beast. A Graetz follow-up cartoon, “Made Harmless at Last!,” graced the cover of the March 26, 1884, issue of *Puck*, portraying a weeping Tammany tiger (created in this effort in the image of machine kingpin “Honest John” Kelly) declawed by Roosevelt and Governor Cleveland. TR was also included as an ancillary figure in *Puck*’s centerfold of February 20, 1884, Joseph Keppler’s “Bottom’s Dream” parody of *A Midsummer-Night’s Dream* lampooning Democratic hypocrisy on tariff policy. Dressed as an elf astride a “NY CITY REFORM” snail, his presence did nothing to strengthen the central theme of the cartoon but much to document his burgeoning status as a political personality.

Roosevelt’s subsequent campaign to impose civil service upon municipal employees inspired a pair of front



Figure 2. Thomas Nast’s cartoon “Our New Watchman–Roosevelt,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 10, 1884, featured Theodore Roosevelt as a policeman driving the spoilsmen of the Tammany Hall and Irving Hall political organizations from the temple of city government with his new civil service bill for New York City municipal employees. Governor Grover Cleveland looks on from the window. Roosevelt later was U.S. Civil Service Commissioner under President Harrison and during Cleveland’s second term as President, and then served as President of the Board of Police Commissioners of New York City, positions prefigured in this early cartoon.

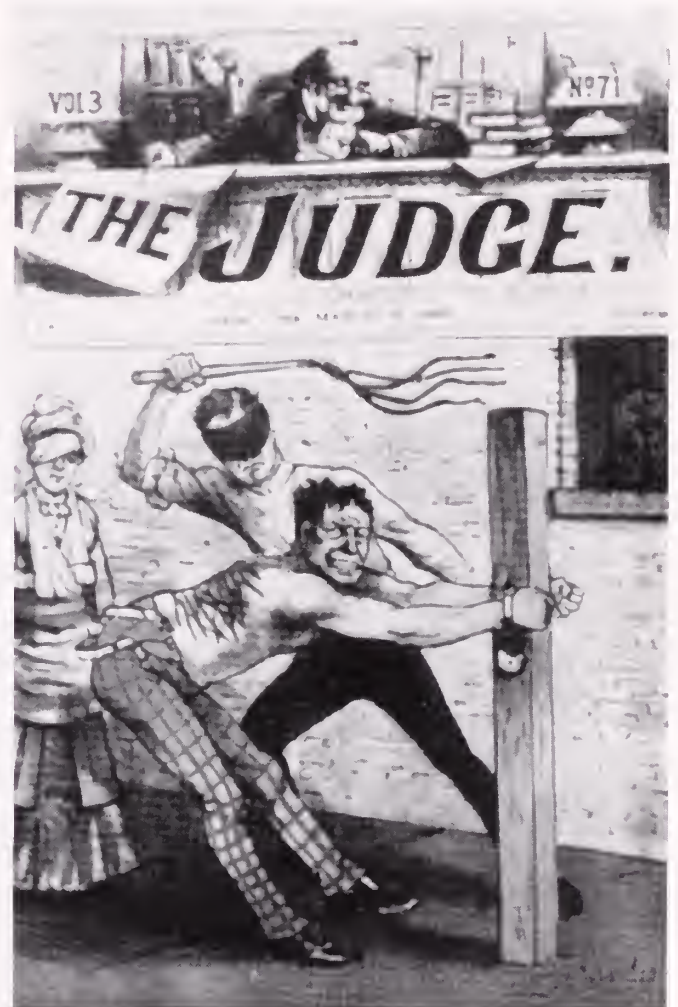


Figure 3. “Sensible Roosevelt. A Whipping-Post for Wife-Beaters.” by Thomas Worth was published in *The Judge*, March 3, 1883. This is the first known reference to Theodore Roosevelt in a cartoon. Opinions differ as to whether the masked man is supposed to be Roosevelt. The cartoon refers to a bill introduced by Roosevelt in the New York State Assembly to authorize public corporal punishment of wife-beaters.



cover color cartoons in *The Judge*. On March 29, 1884, Frank Beard's "A Powerful Disinfectant Needed Here" featured Roosevelt as a vigilant father spraying "vermin poison" on an array of patronage bedbugs to rescue baby New York, bawling in its "Public Crib of New York." Three weeks later Beard's "Ajax Defying the Lightning (After Phidias) – and Roosevelt after Ajax" portrayed a police captain defending a "Sewer Police Fund" of gambling kickbacks with a "political influence" nightstick as the "investigation" lightning of the Roosevelt probe flashed across the sky. A final cartoon reference to Roosevelt's 1884 municipal reform efforts appeared in Beard's June 28, 1884, *Judge* centerfold "Sammy Retires, and Gives the Rest a Chance," featuring Samuel Tilden being bid farewell by his Democratic party and the Tammany tiger, its tail encased in a "ROOSEVELT" bandage.

The other event that inspired Roosevelt cartoons in 1884 was his attendance in June as a delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention in Chicago, during which the young New Yorker played a leading role in the abortive movement by party reformers to deny the presidential nomination to James G. Blaine, whom the "mugwump" element regarded with horror as the ultimate spoilsman. His hostility to Blaine made its way into at least four cartoons, one in *Puck* and a trio in *The Judge*, all except one of the latter cited by Shaw. The *Puck* cartoon, Bernhard Gillam's superb June 4, 1884, centerfold

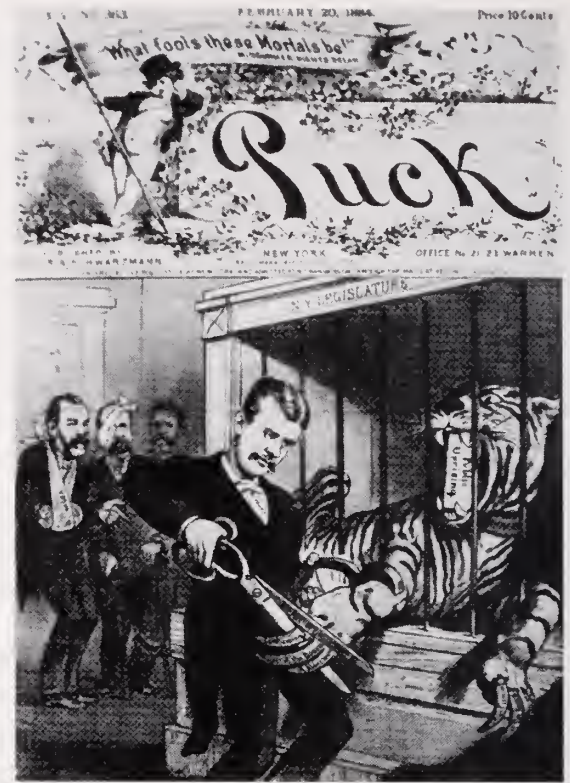


Figure 4. "Make Him Harmless!" by Fredrich Graetz, a cartoon in *Puck*, February 20, 1884, showed Theodore Roosevelt cutting the claws of the Tammany tiger, symbol of the Democratic Tammany Hall political machine.



Figure 5. Bernhard Gillam's "Phryne Before the Chicago Tribunal," in *Puck*, June 4, 1884, shows James G. Blaine as the Tattooed Man—the tattoos representing scandals—revealed and on display to the leaders of the Republican Party. Young Theodore Roosevelt sits pensively fourth from the right. TR was a leader of the opposition to the nomination of Blaine at the Chicago Republican convention of 1884. Blaine was nominated, and was defeated by Democrat Grover Cleveland. TR endorsed Blaine during the campaign.



"Phryne Before the Chicago Tribunal" (fig. 5), is properly considered a classic of the genre. A parody on a popular painting by French artist J.L. Gerome, it cast Blaine as the Tattooed Man (each tattoo a scandal) on display before an incredulous gathering of party luminaries, including a pensive Roosevelt.

In three cartoons published in *The Judge*, as ardently pro-Blaine as its rival *Puck* was anti-Blaine, Roosevelt and his fellow reformers were belittled as rank apostates. A June 21, 1884, Grant Hamilton centerfold featured Blaine as Little Bo Peep and Roosevelt, New York *Times* editor George Jones, *Harper's Weekly* editor George W. Curtis, and other wayward "mugwumps" as her errant sheep above the appropriate verse, "Little Bo-Peep, Lost her Sheep, and Didn't Know Where to Find Them; Oh! Let Them Alone and They'll Come Home, and Carry Their Tails Behind Them." The same issue featured the Frank Beard back cover cartoon "The Sore-Head Convention" (fig. 6), a much more pointed creation ignored by Shaw and Lorant, featuring the Judge nominating third-party gadfly Benjamin F. Butler to Roosevelt, Carl Schurz, Curtis, and Jones, all nursing aching heads in an empty convention hall. On July 12, 1884, *The Judge* featured Hamilton's front cover cartoon "The Size of the Independent Army," (fig. 7), derisively depicting Roosevelt, Jones, Schurz, Curtis, and Henry Ward Beecher as an army of five defying destiny. Throughout the remainder of the 1884 campaign *The Judge* cartoons lampooned the apostates, but abandoned attacks on Roosevelt after he issued a perfunctory endorsement of the Blaine-Logan ticket and departed for the Dakota Territory.

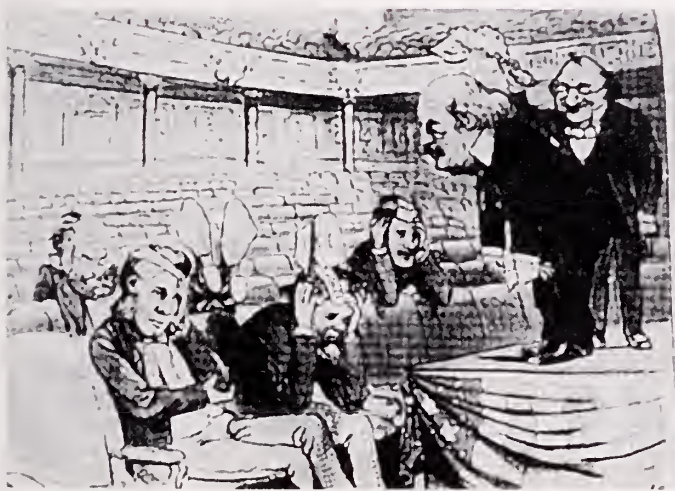


Figure 6. "The Sore-Head Convention" by Frank Beard, published in *The Judge*, June 21, 1884, shows Republican reformers Carl Schurz, George W. Curtis, George Jones, and TR nursing headaches in an empty convention hall after the G.O.P. had nominated James G. Blaine. The "judge" of the magazine's title proposes as the "sore-head" candidate Benjamin F. Butler, the controversial nominee in 1884 of the radical Greenback-Labor Party. Many Republican reformers in 1884 backed Democrat Grover Cleveland, but TR ultimately backed Blaine, a choice for which he was criticized.

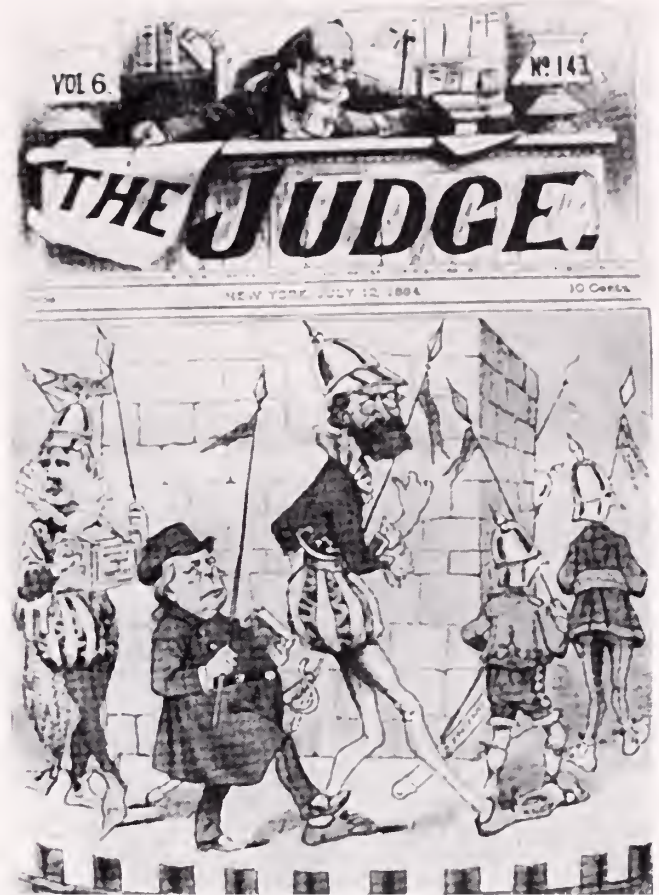


Figure 7. "The Size of the Independent Army" by Grant Hamilton, the front cover of *The Judge*, July 12, 1884, derisively depicted anti-Blaine reformers George W. Curtis, Henry Ward Beecher, Carl Schurz, Theodore Roosevelt, and George Jones marching in circles. The Republican reformers were often called "independents" or "mugwumps," and many backed Democrat Grover Cleveland in 1884. But on July 20, 1884, the *Boston Herald* published an interview with TR in which TR announced that he would vote for Republican James G. Blaine.

Although these last three cartoons did expose Roosevelt to ridicule, the overall effect of the thirteen cartoons in which he was featured in 1883 and 1884 was on the whole a positive one for a hitherto obscure state legislator barely twenty-five years old. In one respect Roosevelt was singularly fortunate, for by accident of birth his home city was also that of *Puck*, *The Judge*, and *Harper's Weekly*, the three principal purveyors of political cartoon art before the genre established its popularity in the daily press. Given the shared myopia on the relative importance of New York politics exhibited by these three weeklies, it is impossible to argue that young Roosevelt would have developed into a cartoon celebrity as state legislator from Nebraska, Minnesota, or Mississippi. Nevertheless, for the most part he became a cartoon notable so early in his career because he precociously displayed qualities of statesmanship blended with showmanship that would later establish him as one of America's great political personalities.★



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